Shah Munzil,
Garden Reach.

2-1-94

My dear Mr Cotton

Accept my best & most sincere thanks for your kind letter of the 1st instant and for your congratulation. I cannot but feel from the numerous letters and telegrams that I am receiving daily from kind friends and high personages that in conferring upon me the dignity of a knight of the most eminent order of the Indian Empire Her most Gracious Majesty

majesty

the Queen Empress has
done me a great Honor
which it shall ever be
the aim and object
of my life to seek to
be worthy of and to cherish
with feelings of boundless
gratitude undying devotion
and loyalty to the crown.

Believe me
my dear Mr Cotton with
best wishes yours very sincerely
Julian Ulrich Walsh

To
The Hon'ble
H. J. S. Cotton C S I & C S
[illegible]

THE

# STORY OF A PILGRIMAGE

# TO HIJAZ.

BY


H. H. THE NAWAB SULTAN JAHAN BEGAM,
G.C.I.E.

*RULER OF BHOPAL.*


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CALCUTTA:

THACKER, SPINK & CO.

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1909.


With best wishes from
Sultan Jahan 14-7-11-

# IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

## INTRODUCTION.

مقصود جهان ز مهر و ماه است یکی
رهبر دو بود و لیک راه است یکی
در مدح محمد و خدا فرقی نیست
گر چشم دوتا بود نگاه است یکی

**The Sun and Moon a common end pursue,**
**The way is one, the guiding stars are two.**
**Muhammad's praise is God Almighty's praise,**
**"Two orbs produce one sight," the poet says.**

انا عرضنا الامانة علی السموات و الارض و الجبال
فابین ان یحملنها و اشفقن منها و حملها الانسان ٭

"Verily we offered the Trust to the Heavens, the Earth, and the Mountains, but they refused to accept it and were afraid of it. It was man who undertook it." (Al Kuran, Chapter XXXIII, Verse 72).

Human nature, as interpreted in the light of this sacred verse, resolves itself into a number of active emotions of which that which has religion for its object is the strongest. This emotion or sentiment, which in religious language is synonymous with sincerity of belief or attraction towards the Deity, is present in greater or less intensity in every man. It is this emotional power which impels a human being, instinctively as it were, to perform religious ceremonies for their own sake without any special object. Religion is a necessity of the human constitution. All men in this world profess a religion of some sort or other and follow its tenets with perfect sincerity whether they appreciate the nature of those tenets or not. Even the common-place mortal whose sense of religion does not happen to be very keen cheerfully undergoes every inconvenience involved in the punctual observance of the ritual of his faith. The votaries of almost all systems of belief admit, in addition to their ordinary places of worship, the existence of one sacred shrine, pilgrimage to, and worship in, which are of pre-eminent spiritual value. Pilgrims to these places are regarded by their co-religionists

with special veneration. As instances of such shrines may be cited the holy Kaaba among the Musalmans, Jerusalem (Solomon's temple) among the People of the Book, and Benares, Mathura, and similar centres of worship, among the Hindus. I propose to discuss here the sacred shrine of the Musalmans, the Kaaba. The sanctity of a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, which is known by the name of the Hajj, is one of the principal articles of Islamic belief, and upon those who can afford to make the pilgrimage, the performance of it once in a lifetime is obligatory. To quote from the divine command in this connection:—"It is the duty of every man, who has the requisite means, to undertake a pilgrimage to the house of God" (Al Kuran, Chapter III, Verse 96). Every Musalman who is in affluent circumstances is anxious to go on this pilgrimage. While engaged in prayer—which carries the faithful into the presence of the Almighty, and the importance of which may be gauged from the divine words "verily, prayer keeps a man from wickedness and vice"—Musalmans turn their faces towards this shrine and prostrate themselves before the Almighty Creator.

Although persons in poor circumstances are exempted from the obligation to go on pilgrimage, yet the duty of undertaking this sacred journey is binding on those who have the means. Not to speak of the fact that it is the readiest means of acknowledging the blessings of Islam and the best way of contributing towards the religious and spiritual development of the community, the Hajj, like other fundamental ritual observances of Islam, is a repository of secular and religious benefits whose name is legion and which cannot be comprehended by the ordinary intellect. It is, however, beyond the scope of the record of my journey to discuss these blessings.

There is a well-known Arab saying that "travel leads to success." The blessings which the civilised countries of the world have enjoyed by means of travel are everywhere manifest at the present day. The principal causes which have determined the progress of civilisation resolve themselves into an exchange of ideas among the various branches of the human race and the increase of knowledge. The Hajj enables Musalmans to achieve these ends in the best possible manner. Men from every corner of the habit-

able globe are gathered together on this occasion, and, according to their respective tastes and requirements, they can obtain information relating to the remotest parts of the world, which may be of use to them in their various pursuits. The material benefit which may thus accrue to the vast concourse of pilgrims by mutual intercourse is obvious. Moreover, the various races of mankind whom the Kaaba draws together in a spiritual bond obtain an insight into one another's social condition, and by comparing notes gather ideas for such social reforms as are necessary. The words of the holy Kuran, "so that benefits may accrue to them," convey this meaning. The advantages of union are innumerable, and it is a principle which Islam has specially inculcated on its followers. In pursuance of the great Islamic doctrine that "the Faithful are brothers," all the Musalmans of the world constitute a single fraternity.

The Hajj is the best means of strengthening these fraternal bonds and the plain of Arafat is the spot where Musalmans can best cultivate one another's acquaintance. It is the place to which millions of men of all sorts and conditions resort

from different parts of the world, wrapped in pieces of unsewn linen as a token of humility, with the common object of doing homage to God. It is there that Adam (Peace be upon him), after coming from Paradise into this world, first recognised his wife Eve. The spectacle is one which makes an indelible impression upon the mind. The Hajj is the best means of making Musalmans realise that all are equal. In the sight of the Absolute Master of the Universe the poor and the rich, the beggar and the sovereign, are all alike, all are his servants.

> **For servitude our brow is branded,**
> **Nothing can the mark efface,**
> **Went to God's abode the Prophet,**
> **Yet he could not take his place.**

To see all this, however, one must have the power of sight. Every one has two eyes, but it is not everyone who possesses the gift of vision or is blessed with the faculty of observation. Centuries have passed, yet no human being has taken with him from his home such power of observation as Ibn Batuta of Morocco and Ibn Zubair of Spain whose treasure of knowledge will be borne till the Day of Judgment on the neck of the best of the arts and sciences.

Mecca has been the centre of popular attraction from time immemorial. The annals ot Arabia show that even before the advent of Islam this holy place was a shrine to which pilgrims used to flock in large numbers and that the same eagerness and enthusiasm marked their pilgrimage as at present. An intelligent man will at once infer from this that the strong attraction of which this sacred spot has become the centre is the result of some mysterious force. It appears that during the period of the Hajj all fighting was stopped, a general truce was proclaimed, and people were enabled to join in acts of holiness without let or hinderance. It is impossible to conceive, except on the supposition that an agency mightier than man controlled the course of events at that time, that a people, indifferent to social or political restraints and naturally turbulent, should, during the holy months of the Hajj, so far get the better of their ferocious instincts as to be converted suddenly into a body of peaceful and harmless citizens. Such a consummation is undoubtedly due to the blessings which God has showered on the holy Kaaba, and to the prayer of the Prophet

Abraham (Peace be on him!) who said:—"O God, make this City an abode of peace."

The foregoing statement is intended, not to be a mere summary of historical events, but to show that the inductive method serves to support the arguments that are brought forward to prove the sacred obligation of the Hajj and the reverence to which the holy Kaaba is entitled. As for the traditionary sanction, we may quote the saying of the Prophet:—"Do not undertake a pilgrimage to any shrine except three, the holy Kaaba, the sanctuary of Jerusalem, and my mosque."

The veneration due to the Kaaba is also proved by the following passage in the Kuran:—

"God made the Kaaba a sacred house and a resort for the people. He sanctified the month (of the Hajj) and ordained that it should be the period for offering sacrifices and (marking camels with) circlets (round their necks). This is to make you understand that God knows what is in heaven and earth and that He is omniscient in every thing. Verily, the first house reared for men was Mecca, which is full of blessings and directs the people in the right path. This house

contains manifest signs and was the abode of Abraham. Whosoever entered it was safe; and it is the duty of every man who has the requisite means to undertake a pilgrimage to the house of God.''

From my earliest childhood I had longed to pay a visit to this holy sanctuary. In view, however, of the social customs of India, I could not possibly have carried out this purpose, unless accompanied by my august mother, as long as I remained unmarried. After marriage I became involved in innumerable domestic and official troubles which are not unknown to the intelligent observer, and the object of my desire remained as far from accomplishment as ever. According to a well-known Arab aphorism ''every thing occurs at its appointed time.'' The sacred object which I had in view was so long delayed that my lamented mother breathed her last. God best knows the trials into which this bereavement plunged me. I found myself suddenly confronted with all the arduous responsibilities of the State. The State at this time resembled a tottering pillar and the condition of helplessness to which it had been reduced haunted me

day and night. Still the desire to visit the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina was the most cherished sentiment of my heart. After assuming the administration I thought that, having accomplished such measures of reform as were absolutely necessary, I would be able to undertake the blessed journey, but yet another sore disappointment was in store for me. Six months had scarcely run their course when my well-beloved husband and adviser, the Nawab Ihtisham-ul-Mulk, Alijah, Nazir-ud-Daula, Sultan Dulha, Ahmad Ali Khan Bahadur, was called by fate to the mercy of God. The shock distracted me, and the long-cherished wish which had been my guiding star ever since my childhood had again to be postponed.

It is well known that the Courts of even the petty Princes of this world are inaccessible to those who have not obtained permission to enter. When such is the case in our earthly relations, how can we possibly betake ourselves to the Court of the Sovereign of the Two Worlds except with the guidance of His beneficence and mercy? Man proposes, and God disposes. I deem myself highly fortunate in that the Great and Glorious

Master sent for me to His Court. All difficulties besetting my path were removed by His unbounded grace, and all my troubles vanished at His gracious bidding. All's well that ends well, even if something untoward should happen in its course to mar its complete harmony. I accordingly look upon my journey with unmixed satisfaction and offer thanks to God, my Lord. May God direct every Musalman in the right path and grant him the ability to perform his religious duties with the utmost readiness! My journey has been crowned with complete success and I have ended it in a most satisfactory manner.

In conformity with the Islamic teaching, that "He who does not thank men, fails to thank God", I must in this connection sincerely thank the Supreme Government of India for their great kindness to which I shall refer at full length later on. My thanks are also due to the Turkish Government, who, at the instance of the Government of India, very kindly gave me a reception befitting my rank and entertained me with hospitality.

I have divided this narrative of my journey into two books. The first book contains a brief

geographical description of Arabia, to which is added a detailed account of the foundation of the holy Kaaba as well the Prophet's mosque. The second book deals with events and incidents relating to my pilgrimage to Hijaz and copies of such correspondence as took place in connection with it.

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# BOOK I.

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## CHAPTER I.

### Geographical Description of Arabia.

Modern geographical research shows that Arabia is a peninsula situated in the South-Western corner of the Asiatic Continent. It is bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf and on the west by the Red Sea and the Straits of Bab-ul-Mandab. The Arabian Sea washes the Southern coast of the peninsula and the plains of Syria march with its Northern boundary. To the north-west the country is connected with Africa by an isthmus which has now been pierced by the Suez Canal. The length of the land is 1,500 miles and its breadth about 1,200 miles. The principal political divisions are four—Al-Khassa; Hijaz including Yaman; Najd, and Oman. The first two divisions are under the sway of the Sultan of Turkey. Najd is ruled by an independent Chieftain, who, however, acknowledges the suzerainty of the Sultan. Oman belongs to

the Imam of Maskat. Nearly the whole of the country is sandy and, owing to its close proximity to the torrid or equatorial zone, is very hot. The province of Hijaz, which runs along the shore of the Red Sea, contains the holy and world-famed cities of Mecca and Medina, and the town of Taif, which is celebrated for its genial climate and green meadows. Mecca lies at the foot of a mountain and is surrounded by a number of small hills. The town, which is of considerable size, is rectangular in shape. On one side of it is situated the "Jannat-ul-Mualla'' a large grave-yard. On the other side, in the direction of Jeddah, is a place called Shahika. In the direction of Yaman the town is demarcated by a spring issuing from the Bazan which lies close to the birth-place of Hamza (May God be pleased with him !) the uncle of our Prophet. The Jabl Abu Kubais and the Jabl Ahmar, which stand facing one another, skirt the town on the other sides. In his history of Mecca the learned Kutb-ud-din Hanafi states that in old times the city was protected by a system of fortified walls. He has described the system at some length and points out that in the direction of the Palaces

a thick wall connected the hill of Abdulla ibn Umar with the opposite rock. This wall was furnished with a wooden gate plated with iron, the gift of some Indian Monarch. It was also pierced with sluices, about the height of a man, to drain off superfluous water. There was another piece of wall in the direction of Shahika. This joined the two hills which enclose the pass that furnishes the means of egress from Mecca. The wall had two gates. To complete the system there was one more wall situated below the Darb-ul-Yaman. The learned historian is of opinion that the founder of the City wall was the Sharif, Abu Aziz Katada ibn Idris Hasani, an ancestor of the Sharifs of Mecca. The date of construction of the wall has been put down as 607 Hijra. According to the same authority the length of Mecca from the Muallat gate to the Darb-ul-Yaman is 4,072 yards if measured in cubits and 4,000 yards if measured with an iron rod of the standard length. Surveyed from the Muallat gate to Shahika the length of the city is computed at 4,172 yards in hand measure. At the time of my visit, however, no traces of the wall were visible.

Mecca is supplied with water by two canals. One of these had been commenced by Ibn Zubair Kuraishi, but, being left unfinished by him, was completed by the Queen of Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey. The other was constructed by the Abbaside Khalifa, Muktadir. The site of Mecca comprises an area two miles long from north to south and one mile broad from east to west. Owing to the excessive heat and the sandy nature of the country not a speck of verdure relieves the eye for miles. At a distance of 70 miles from Mecca, however, in an easterly direction, lies Taif with its green meadows and cultivated fields which support and sustain Mecca. Summer reigns throughout the year in Mecca which is scarcely visited by any winter worthy of the name. When the summer is at its hottest, the nobility and well-to-do portion of the populace betake themselves to the cool and shady retreat of Taif.

The port of Jeddah lies 40 miles west of Mecca on the coast of the Red Sea. Towards the north, at a distance of 270 miles, is situated the blessed City of Medina. Medina is smaller than Mecca and is protected by an old wall of strong masonry. The suburbs of the City are dotted at

intervals with small hills. The soil of Arabia is rocky throughout, like that of Medina, and this accounts for the heat prevailing in the country. Yet the climate of Medina is comparatively mild, and abundant groves of fruit trees are to be met with there. The chains of hills skirting the northern and southern suburbs of the City are famous for their groves of luscious dates. Medina is appreciably cold in winter and, as the climate is moderate, people do not find it necessary to betake themselves to any other place in the summer.

Arabia is not an agricultural country. Travellers have to encounter considerable difficulties owing to scarcity of water, and this is the principal cause of the absence of those trading facilities which are to be met with in other countries. The sole trade of Arabia consists of such maritime enterprise as falls to its lot. The fact, however, that the country is the seat of holy sanctuaries, to which people are necessarily attracted in large numbers, lends an unusual impetus to mercantile activity. Of the professions, moreover, the only one for which the Arab entertains any respect is trade. Traditions show that even before the advent of the Prophet Arabia was noted for its

mercantile activity, and that the ancient Arabs, who are known in the language of Islam as Arabs of "the period of ignorance," journeyed to Syria and to other countries in quest of trade.

Excessive heat and scorching winds prevail in Arabia. Of the indigenous products of the soil, the date is very delicious and palatable and is appreciated not only by the natives but also by people of other countries. The date-palm is a marvel of utility and is turned to many uses. Its fruit is eaten, and the leaves, the bark, and the fibre are used in the manufacture of various articles which are sent to other countries as curiosities. The Arab bill-of-fare consists mainly of meat, dates, milk, and honey. For all other articles of diet the country has to depend chiefly on foreign supplies. As the land revenue forms but a small portion of the income of the country, every branch of trade is taxed. The *namrak* or customs duty is levied by the State and the high tariff rates obtaining in the country may possibly be accounted for by the consideration that on economic principles it is essential to the efficiency of the administration that the income of the country governed should be equal to the expen-

diture. The administrative requirements of Arabia not being sufficiently covered by the land revenue, it is absolutely necessary that the fiscal burden of the country should be imposed upon its exports and imports.

Arabia is bounded on the north by the land of Syria which far surpasses it in richness and fertility. In Elia, one of the Syrian towns, is situated the "Bait-ul-Mukaddas" (Holy House), also called the "Masjid-ul-Aksa" (Temple of Solomon). This sacred temple is also regarded with much veneration and constitutes the first "Kibla" of Musalmans. In the early days of Islam, the Faithful, while engaged in prayer, turned their faces towards this sanctuary. The sanctity and religious importance of the shrine are acknowledged by Musalmans to this day. A pilgrimage to it, under religious ordinance, secures spiritual reward for the pilgrim. The Prophet says: "Do not undertake a pilgrimage to any shrine except three, the Masjid-ul-Haram, the Masjid-ul-Aksa, and my mosque." The first of these signifies the Holy Kaaba, the second the sanctuary of Jerusalem, and the third the Prophet's mosque at Medina. The superlative sanctity attached

to the Masjid-ul-Aksa may be gauged from the fact that the first stage of the Prophet's heavenly night journey was this shrine. The sacred book of the Musalmans, the Kuran, speaks of it thus: "It is a mosque whose environments have been blessed by us." The sanctuary, moreover, is the resting-place of those renowned prophets and apostles whose spiritual excellence is acknowledged not only in Islam but in all those other systems of belief which claim for themselves a heavenly origin and whose followers are called in Islamic language "the People of the Book." In short, this sacred locality is an object of veneration on all sides and the great spiritual leaders of bygone times whose repose is guarded by its holy precincts are acknowledged by all the People of the Book to be the inspired messengers of heaven. Before proceeding on my journey, I had intended to pay a visit to the temple of Jerusalem in connection with my pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Unfortunately, however, owing to the exigencies of the time I was unable to include a journey to Jerusalem in my programme. It was not advisable that I should remain away from my State duties for any very

considerable length of time, and the idea of visiting Jerusalem had perforce to be given up even before I left Bhopal. I, however, intend to avail myself of the blessing at some future time, after I have improved the condition of my State and thus fulfilled the prime obligation of a Ruler.

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## CHAPTER II.

### The Pre-Islamic foundation of the Holy Kaaba.

When the foundation of the holy Kaaba was first laid, civilisation had not sufficiently advanced to admit of the preparation of a record on modern historical principles, which might have enabled us to form a clear idea as to how this great shrine came into existence. For such knowledge, therefore, as is available on the subject we have to depend upon tradition and those inspired sayings of the Prophet, which are attested by the Holy Kuran in the following words:—"He (the Prophet) does not speak of his own accord. Whatever he says is inspired."

The writings of the old Islamic historians on the subject are all traceable, as regards the source of their information, to these traditions. According to the traditions, the construction of the sacred edifice falls into two periods,—(1) before the fall of Adam, and (2) after the fall. As the narrative of my journey has for its object only those traditions which fall under the latter

heading, I will restrict my remarks to them. On the strength of the Imam Abu-l-Walid-Azraki's testimony the learned Kutb-ud-din Hanafi makes the following statement:—"On coming to the earth Adam said to God: 'O Lord, I do not hear the voices of the Angels.' God answered: 'O Adam, it is because of your sin. Make a house and dedicate it to me. Then go round it and praise me just as you saw the cherubim do in the highest heaven.' Adam accordingly began to look about for a suitable place till he reached the spot where Mecca is now situated and built the House of God."

It is evident that in those early times human industries did not exist. For digging and laying the foundation, therefore, Adam required the aid of some one. Tradition says that the angel Gabriel struck the ground with his wing, creating an enormous chasm which reached to the seventh layer of the Earth. This mighty gap was then filled up by the angelic host with huge fragments of rock which were so heavy that thirty men of that age could hardly have lifted one of them. Thus the foundation of the Holy Kaaba was completed. As regards the quarries from which

these fragments of rock were obtained the names of five mountains may be mentioned, (1) Lebanon, (2) Sinai, (3) Nita, (4) Judi, on whose summit Noah's Ark rested after the deluge subsided, and (5) Hira, where the Prophet received the first revelation. When the foundation was level with the surface of the earth, the Bait-ul-Mamur, a glorious edifice of heavenly origin, was placed over it and Adam was commanded to walk round it. Shah Abd-ul-Aziz, the great Traditionist of Delhi, also mentions this legend in his commentary entitled the Fath-ul-Aziz, on the authority of Azraki, Ibn Asakir, and the Kitab-ul-Uzma. All traditions are unanimous in affirming that the Bait-ul-Mamur remained in this place till the time of Noah's deluge. When the great flood came, the House of Glory was lifted up to the heavens. From that day to the time of the Prophet Abraham, no structure was reared upon the old foundation. The locality, however, where this foundation existed, was marked by an eminence which commanded the neighbouring ground. During the interval between the deluge of Noah and the advent of Abraham, the spot was regarded as

sacred and people used to flock to it in the belief that the sanctity of its precincts would render their prayers efficacious. In the "Kitab-ul-Ilm-ba-Alam-i-Bait-illah-il-Haram" it is written that between the time of Noah and that of Abraham, the spot in question resembled a reddish rock which was above the reach of running water and that the people, without knowing the actual whereabouts of the ancient sanctuary, were yet aware that the site existed somewhere in that neighbourhood. The oppressed, the pursued, and the sick betook themselves to this spot and their prayers were heard, while people generally came here on pilgrimage. This is an account of the first foundation of the Kaaba which was laid after the creation of man. As the Bait-ul-Mamur was made of rubies, the cap of rock on the basement of the holy Kaaba which survived the deluge came to consist of earth of a reddish colour.

### The second Construction of the Kaaba.

All the authorities are unanimous in ascribing the second construction of the holy Kaaba to the Prophet Abraham. A legend of historical interest is connected with the building of the

shrine by that patriarch, and, as most of the ritual of the pilgrimage is closely associated with the legend, it is necessary to recount it here. Abraham was the son of Tarakh (Terah, whose surname was Azr), the son of Nahor. He was born 1709 years after Noah's deluge, a period which was contemporaneous with that of King Namrud, the son of Kanaan. Abraham's native place was Kusi, a small hamlet in the environs of Babel. Like other Prophets before him, his nature shrank from idolatry while he was still very young, and, as it had been decreed by God that he should fill the high office of a Prophet, young Abraham would often take his father and his people to task for their idolatrous practices. One day he demolished their idols, and when they questioned him as to his destructive deed, he answered "Ask the idols who broke them." They replied "Thou knowest that they cannot speak." His answer was the cause of their self-accusing reply. This greatly enraged them, and to revenge themselves upon Abraham, they piled up a huge pyre of faggots and having set fire to it threw him thereon by means of a catapult. By the Grace of God, however, he

emerged safely from the fire. Despairing of inducing his father and the community at large to accept the true faith, Abraham left his country and repaired to Haran where his uncle Háran was living at the time. Háran gave him his daughter, Sarah, in marriage, and his teachings induced her against the will of her parents to give up idolatry. Háran was so incensed at this that he took away all the goods and chattels that belonged to the pair and turned them out of his house. With no particular destination in view Abraham left his father-in-law's house, accompanied by his wife Sarah who had made an agreement with him never to disobey him as long as he also performed her bidding. They were joined in their wanderings by the Prophet Lot who was their nephew. They first went to Egypt which at that time was ruled by a tyrant who used to take away every beautiful woman from her guardian. The guardian was put to death if he happened to be the husband; if he were any other relative, he was not killed. Now, Sarah was a woman of such transcendent loveliness that one-sixth of the graces and charms of all womankind was centred in her alone. Abraham told this to

Sarah and said "If the king sends for thee, say not that I am thy husband, but rather that I am thy brother, for I am thy brother in the faith. I know that God will protect thee and will not destroy my honour." The danger was only too real and showed itself before long. The servants of the tyrant came to Abraham and asked him in what relation the woman stood to him: "She is my sister in the faith" was Abraham's reply. Thereupon the men took away Sarah, and Abraham began to pray for her safety. Meanwhile Sarah was carried before the king. Her charms of course captivated him and he tried to take liberties with her. She guessed his evil intention and asked him to allow her to bathe and worship her God. The tyrant consented and at his bidding the servants of the royal household brought an ewer and a washing basin to enable her to perform her ablutions and say her prayers. Sarah was engaged in prayer and supplication for a long time. The king, growing impatient of delay, resolved to accomplish his evil design while his intended victim was still praying, and, having sent everyone out of the house, was on the point of laying hands on her when he was suddenly

seized with a fit. His breathing ceased and he foamed at the mouth. Sarah was greatly alarmed for she thought that the guards of the tyrant would put her to death on the charge of murdering their king. She therefore prayed to God to relieve the king of his suffering, supposing that the supernatural visitation would serve as a warning. Sarah's supplication was heard and the king recovered, but, instead of repenting, he still persisted in his evil purpose. This brought on a second apopleptic fit. To cut the matter short, the tyrant received three similar warnings in succession, and, on the last occasion, persuaded that Sarah was a *jinn*, he gave her up. At the same time he presented Sarah with Hagar, a girl who had been living for some time in his harem, but had in some way been protected from his violence.

Abraham now left Egypt for Palestine, a well-known city in the centre of Syria, where he took up his abode. The citizens of Palestine treated him with great respect and showed their hospitality by making him a gift of an extensive plot of land the revenue of which placed him in affluence. He purchased numerous slaves,

acquired many cattle, cultivated several farms, established a feeding house for the needy and the traveller, and made arrangements for the liberal entertainment of guests. He then deputed Lot to show the Path of Salvation to the people of Sodom.

Sarah had a great longing for children. She yearned to be blessed with a child. Accordingly she told Abraham that she was going to offer Hagar to him as a gift in the hope that a child might be born of her to bring consolation to both of them. Abraham, knowing that jealousy predominated in her character, feared lest in the event of a son being born of the slave-girl Hagar, Sarah might be envious and persecute the child. Sarah, however, insisted upon her wishes being carried out and Abraham was compelled to accept her gift.

In due course Hagar gave birth to the Prophet Ishmael who was brought up by Sarah for some time with motherly care. Hagar merely suckled the child. Abraham, in view of Sarah's jealousy, paid little attention to Ishmael. One day, however, being alone, he out of natural feeling and fatherly love took Ishmael on his lap

and caressed him. Sarah chanced to see this, jealousy got the better of her, and she asked Abraham to turn both mother and son out of the house, into a desert where there was neither shelter, foliage, or water. Abraham tried his utmost to dissuade her from her purpose, but without success. As a last resort, he appealed to God, but the answer came "Do as Sarah bids thee." Abraham took them both, accomplished the stages of his journey, and reached the plain where the holy Kaaba now stands. Abraham left the infant Ishmael and his mother under a tree at the place of Zamzam. At that time this spot was a desert without water. Abraham gave Ishmael's mother dates, loaves, and a skinful of water, and told her to feed the child and sit down. Then he began to return to his home. In a little while he saw Hagar following him and calling: "Where art thou leaving us? In this desert there is no water, no shelter, no house, no friend." Abraham was silent. At last Hagar asked: "Art thou doing this by the order of God?" "Yes", replied Abraham. "Then I fear not," said Ishmael's mother, "He will not let me perish." Thus saying she returned to her son

and began to suckle him. When Abraham had crossed the top of the hill between them and had lost sight of Hagar, he turned towards the holy Kaaba, lifted up his hands, and prayed :—"O God, I have placed my family in a desert plain close to Thy sacred house that they may worship Thee. Turn thou the hearts of the people towards them and bless them with plenty that they may thank Thee." As long as the supply of dates, bread, and water lasted, Hagar suckled the infant and refreshed him with water. When the water was finished, Hagar was very thirsty, and Ishmael from the greatness of his thirst, rolled on the ground. She could not bear the sight, so she ran towards the hill of Safa which was hard by, climbed it, and looked all round to see if there was water anywhere. She could not go very far as she had to keep the child in sight. When she saw no water, she descended the hill in despair and went towards Marwa. She then feared that, as she was away from her child, perhaps some wild beast might carry him off. Moved by this fear, she lifted up the skirt of her dress and began to run swiftly across the hollow of the plain wihch is called the Batn-ul-Wadi.

Presently she came out on to a stretch of level ground and went slowly, for Ishmael now came in sight. She then mounted the peak of Marwa and strained her eyes in every direction for water, but found none. She retraced her steps to Safa and, running across the hollow, walked slowly over the level part of the plain. In this manner she crossed between Marwa and Safa seven times forwards and backwards.

In handing down this legend to us Ibn-Abbas (may God be pleased with him!) ascribes to the Prophet the following version of the tradition:—

"The run between the Safa and Marwa has been ordained that the servants of God may remember the loneliness and helplessness of Hagar and how she turned to God most High, and may bring their own loneliness and helplessness to that same True King and implore His mercy. When Hagar reached Marwa the seventh time, she heard a voice and, turning towards it, she said "Fear not." Then she listened attentively and hearing the voice again she said "O Thou that speakest, how good were it that Thou couldst bring us help." She then came running to Ishmael

and saw that an angel was striking the ground with his wings or heels at the place where Zamzam is now situated and that water was flowing from the earth. Fearful lest the spring should run dry and leave her as thirsty as before, Hagar filled her waterskin with water and, in order to store water in a reservoir, she raised an embankment of earth around the spring. The holy writer concludes his story with these words :—"May the Blessing of God descend upon the mother of Ishmael ; but for her impatience Zamzam would this day be a running brook."

Hagar refreshed herself with water and gave Ishmael to drink. The angel comforted her greatly and said: "God will not destroy thee here, for in this place is the House of God. When this child shall become a man, he shall build the House with his father, and God will never destroy its inmates." In those days, the site of the Kaaba was high like a mound, beautiful, and conspicuous, and the rain flowed off it on either side. Mother and son were there alone. One day a party of Arabs of the Jurham clan, who inhabited the land, came to the spot from the direction of Yaman and camped at the

foot of the mound. They saw a flock of birds take flight and wondering said one to another: "Birds only rise to fly where men dwell; we often pass by this place, but have never seen water or the dwellings of men." At length they sent round a man to look and tell what he saw. The man came back and said that a spring of water had miraculously appeared and that a woman with a child was living near it. The clansmen waited upon Hagar and asked leave to settle there. Hagar, being lonely, naturally wished to have people about her. She granted the permission very readily, but made the condition that the clansmen should have no property in the spring. The men of Jurham counted it a favour that they might dwell there, and, having built a few houses, sent for the rest of their clan together with the whole of their goods and settled down in the place.

Ishmael began to speak Arabic, the language of the settlers, and he grew up an unusually able and intelligent youth. The Chieftain of the Jurham clan had the great happiness of marrying his daughter to him. Meanwhile Hagar died and was buried at Hajr.

Ishmael was fourteen years of age when the prophet Isaac was born to Sarah and she became busy in care for him. She grew less jealous and Abraham begged her to allow him to go and see Ishmael. She consented on condition that he should neither dismount from his horse nor pass the night at Ishmael's house. Abraham went, and he found that Ishmael, who was grown to man's estate, had married after the death of his mother and was living with his wife. Abraham searched for his son's house and went to the door. Ishmael had gone out to hunt, for he lived on animals lawful for food which he slew with his bow and arrow, and cooked in the water of Zamzam; and he was contented with his lot. Abraham called Ishmael's wife to the door and asked her where her husband was and when he would return. She replied that her husband had gone out in quest of food and would be back in the evening. Abraham knew that if he waited for Ishmael's return, he would have to pass the night at his son's house, and, as he only wanted to make sure that his son was well, he thought it right to enquire and return to his home. So he rode to the door, and began to ask his daughter-

in-law all sorts of questions as to their condition. When he asked her about their means of livelihood, she replied that they were precarious and that she and her husband lived in great poverty and distress. She also made many other complaints. Abraham asked her to greet her husband on his return and to tell him to change the framework of his door, which was unfit for its purpose. Abraham then started for home. At sunset Ishmael returned to his house and perceiving that light and blessing had descended on his house, he asked his wife if she had received any visitor. She answered that a venerable man had come mounted on a horse, and she described his features and appearance. Ishmael guessed that it was his father, for his mother had often described him. He then asked his wife if the stranger had said anything. In reply she told the whole story of the visit and repeated his message. Ishmael thereupon said to his wife: "The stranger was my father who has signified that I should put thee away. Go thou therefore to thy father's house for I have no more to do with thee." After this he married another girl of the same clan, Sayyada, the daughter of

Mazaz ibn-Amr Jurhami, a bride who managed his house with great tact and skill.

After some time Abraham's heart again went out to his son and he longed to see him. He asked leave of Sarah a second time and, having obtained it on the same terms as before, set out on his journey. This time too Ishmael was absent. Ishmael's wife, however, appeared in the doorway, for in those days women did not hide themselves from the gaze of men. She welcomed Abraham and asked him to rest in the house that she might wash his head which was covered with the dust of the journey. To keep his promise to Sarah, Abraham was compelled to refuse. Then Ishmael's wife brought a large slab of stone and placed it close to the stirrup of Abraham's horse. Abraham put one of his feet on the stone slab and his daughter-in-law mounting upon the slab, washed his head and combed his hair. While this was going on, Abraham questioned her as to their condition. Ishmael's wife answered his inquiries by describing the virtues of her husband and gratefully acknowledging his kind and loving treatment. As to their means of livelihood, she said :—"Thanks to God

we are in no want, and God has not made us dependent upon any man for anything. Ishmael brings meat and Zamzam is nigh at hand, and thus we live well." Abraham prayed God to bless their meat and water and left the place without waiting for Ishmael's return, bearing in mind his promise to Sarah. On leaving, he charged his daughter-in-law to greet her husband and to tell him that the framework of his door was excellent, and that he should regard this as good fortune and cherish it carefully. When Ishmael came home in the evening and his spiritual insight informed him that a great personage had come, he questioned his wife who told the whole story. He thereupon signified to her that the venerable stranger was his father who had commended her to him.

Again, after some days Abraham yearned to see his son. He opened his heart to Sarah and told her that, as on both the previous occasions he had not been able to see Ishmael, he was now anxious to go and live with him for a few days, but could do so only if she readily gave him leave. Sarah now willingly consented and Abraham arrived at Mecca. This time Ishmael was seated under a tree near Zamzam, mending his arrows.

He recognised his father at once and ran to embrace him. Mumam ibn-Rashid Yamani says that father and son wept so profusely that the very birds joined them for sympathy. The joy which this meeting must have caused was a natural prelude to the feeling which showed itself in tears. After this Abraham asked his son to join him in building a temple which he had been commanded to construct with his own hands. Abraham at the same time explained that the reason why he was anxious that he should join him in building the temple was that the work done by each of them would count as if it was done by the other. On Ishmael questioning him as to the site of the proposed temple, Abraham pointed out the red mound. Ishmael readily agreed to do as his father bade him, and the building was begun on the first day of the month of Zikaad. At the time of building Abraham hesitated as to the exact spot on which the foundation was to be laid. Then the Sakina (a covering of light) came in the form of a cloud and stood opposite the Kaaba. Abraham was told that the spot marked by the shadow of the cloud represented the exact site of the Kaaba. The angel Gabriel,

moreover, drew a line marking the size of the shadow. As Abraham dug, Adam's foundation was uncovered and he began to build on it. The height of the walls was fixed at 9 yards. The length of the building on one side, from the pillar of Syria to the Black Stone, was 33 yards, and on the other, from the western pillar to the pillar of Yaman, 31 yards. The breadth, from the pillar of Syria to the western pillar was 22 yards, and from the pillar of Yaman to the Black Stone 20 yards. Thus the Kaaba was a quadrangle with unequal sides. The entrance was level with the ground. It was low, without doors, and without bolt or chain. On the right hand of any one entering was a deep pit in which might be placed the gifts offered at the Kaaba. No account shows that the building had a roof. Abraham built the walls while Ishmael brought him the material which consisted of mud and stones. He prepared the mud on the spot, but had to bring the stones all the way from the hills of Abu Kubais, Hira, and Warkan. When the walls rose beyond the height of a man, a large stone was wanted on which to stand and continue the building. Possibly the art of building already existed

and there were people who understood it, but these holy men had no special knowledge. They followed only the divine command, and had no scaffolding. On his way to the Abu Kuba in quest of a huge stone, Ishmael met the angel Gabriel who said : "Come with me and I will show thee the two pieces of stone which came with Adam from Paradise and were buried at the foot of this hill by the prophet Idris lest they should be carried away by Noah's flood. These stones are greatly blessed. One of them will serve Abraham as a support and the other do thou fix in a corner of the Kaaba on the right hand side of the entrance where it can be kissed by every pilgrim before he makes the circuit of the building."

Ishmael brought away both these stones one after the other, and Gabriel went with him and inspired Abraham to fix one stone in the corner of the Kaaba. The stone on which Abraham stood while building the walls grew in height with the wall and no other stone was needed until the completion of the structure. It bore the mark of Abraham's footprint and is called the "Makam i-Ibrahim" (Abraham's standing place). The Hajar-i-Aswad (Black stone) which was set up in

an angle of the Kaaba was a very luminous stone which shed its light for a considerable distance in all directions from the holy Kaaba. The distance reached by this light is the boundary of the Sanctuary to the present day, within which none may be molested. It is sad that the sins of those who kiss this stone have robbed it of light till now the eye seeks it in vain.

The historical legend thus told admits of fuller treatment; but this much of it only concerns the construction of the Kaaba, and I need not therefore dwell upon the rest of the story.

Having completed the building of the Kaaba, Abraham made the following invocation to God: "O Lord, accept (this service) from us, for verily Thou hearest and knowest everything. O God, make us and our children to bow to Thy will and show us our rites and forgive us; for Thou art the Forgiver, the Merciful."

The prayer was heard and at the divine command the angel Gabriel appeared before Abraham whom he taught the ritual of the Hajj in all its details from the wrapping of unsewn linen round the body to the shaving of the head.

From that time the Hajj with its accompanying rites has become a duty. There are fifteen places in Mecca which render prayer efficacious, *viz.*—(1) near Multazam, (2) under the Mizab-ur-Rahmat, (3) close to the pillar of Yaman, (4) on Safa, (5) on Marwa, (6) between Safa and Marwa, (7) between the Rukn and the Standing-place of Abraham, (8) inside the Kaaba, (9) at Mina, (10) at Muzdalfa, (11) at Arafat, (12), (13) and (14) near the three Jamarats, (15) near Zamzam while drinking the water of the well.

### The Third and Fourth Construction of the Kaaba.

The Jurham and the Amaleka tribesmen built the Kaaba the third and the fourth time. Tradition is divided as to which of the clans built the edifice first. The author of the Ilm-ul-Alam has quoted two traditions, but he himself is uncertain whether priority should be ascribed to the Jurham or the Amaleka. Nevertheless, Tabri believes the legend that the Amaleka built before the Jurham. We have no detailed accounts regarding these two buildings except that, when Abraham's structure fell into ruins, either the Jurham or the Amaleka rebuilt it with some addi-

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tions, and later, when this building also decayed, it was built anew by the second of these clans. The height of the Kaaba at the time of its third and fourth construction was the same as in Abraham's time.

### The Fifth Construction.

To Kusai ibn Kilab is ascribed the fifth construction of the Kaaba. According to the learned Kutb-ud-din Hanafi (May God be merciful to him!) the Kaaba came under the control of Kusai ibn Kilab in the following manner: Fatima, the daughter of Saad, was married to Kilab ibn Marrah and gave birth to Zahra and Kusai. Later on Kilab died and his widow Fatima contracted a second marriage with Rabia ibn Huzram who took her with her former children to Syria. There Fatima bore him children. When Kusai grew up, he and the son of Rabia quarrelled, and they taunted him with being a foreigner, asking him why he did not go to his own people. Kusai, who had known no other father than Rabia, complained to his mother, who told him that his father was of nobler birth than their father, that he was the son of Kilab, the son of Marrah, that his tribe lived at Mecca near the Sacred House. Kusai forthwith

went to Mecca where he was recognised and greatly honoured by his kinsfolk. At this time the tribe of Khazaah was the guardian of the Kaaba and Khalil ibn Jaisha, their Chief, kept the key, and was responsible for opening and closing the Kaaba. He had a daughter named Aisa whom Kusai married. When dying, Khalil made a will to the effect that after him his daughter should be appointed keeper of the key. Aisa, however, pleaded her inability to guard the important charge and handed over the key to Abu Bishan. Now Abu Bishan was greatly addicted to drink. Once when he had no money to buy wine, he sold the key of the Holy House of God for liquor. Kusai came to know this and bought the key. Thus the key came into the possession of Kusai, son of Kilab. The kinsmen of Khazaah could not brook this. A fight took place between them and Kusai, in which the latter proved victorious. He expelled the family of Khazaah from Mecca and brought his own people to settle there. They built their houses around the Kaaba of which they became the guardians. Kusai, son of Kilab, collected all his wealth and rebuilt the Kaaba as no one had built it before that time. He extended

the width of the holy edifice to 25 yards and provided it with a roof of *dum* wood which he covered with branches of date-palm. The author of the Shafa-ul-Gharam, however, distrusts the tradition which affirms the extension of the breadth of the Kaaba. He is certain that from the time of its foundation by Abraham to that of its last construction by the Kuraish, the Kaaba was each time built according to Abraham's scale. After the Kaaba, Kusai built the Dar-ul-Nadwat (place of assembly) where the Kuraish clansmen met to discuss all their tribal affairs. An open space was left around the Kaaba to admit of the prescribed circuit being made by pilgrims, who were fed at Kusai's expense.

### The Sixth Construction.

The holy Kaaba was built a sixth time after the birth of our Prophet (peace be on him!). The occasion which led to this construction was this. A woman, while burning incense inside the Kaaba, accidentally set fire to the sacred covering. Most of the wood-work of the roof was destroyed. A mighty flood had also previously caused great injury to the walls. Accordingly the Kuraish

resolved upon strengthening the structure and raising the entrance-portal sufficiently to prevent any one from entering without their leave. At this time a Roman merchant named Bakum, a carpenter by trade, brought a vessel laden with timber to the port of Jeddah. Walid ibn Mughira went with some of the Kuraish to Jeddah, bought the wood to use in the building, and took it with him to Mecca.

The author of the Sabil-ul-Huda-wa-r-Rishad mentions a tradition that the pit dug inside the Kaaba to receive offerings was the haunt of a huge black serpent with a head as large as that of a kid. The monster had been living in this pit for nearly five hundred years and would occasionally appear on the walls of the Kaaba and gape at any person who approached it. The Kuraish stood in superstitious awe of the monster, which they believed to be the guardian of the Kaaba and its offerings. At this time a bird carried off the serpent by divine command and the incident confirmed the Kuraish in the belief that their purpose was approved by God. They accordingly decided to dismantle the Kaaba and build it anew. Ibn Hisham recounts a legend which

says that when Aabid ibn Amran ibn Makhzum, the Prophet's maternal uncle, lifted up one of the stones of the Kaaba, the stone fell from his hand and returned to the identical spot from which it had been taken up. This portent led the Kuraish to decide that the material employed in the construction of the holy Kaaba must be purchased with money earned by honest toil and that unlawful gains, such as income from usury and similar sources, must not be used. On this principle the different parts of the holy House of God were distributed among the tribes of the Kuraish. The part near the entrance was thus allotted to the Bani Zahra and the Bani Abdu-Munaf and the portion between the Black Pillar and the Pillar of Yaman to the Bani Mukhzum and their branches. The back of the Kaaba fell to the share of the Bani Jamah and the Bani Saham, and the side of the Black Stone to the Bani Abd-ud-Dar, Bani Asad ibn Abd-ul-uzza, and Bani Adiibn Kaab. Stones were then collected for the edifice. The Prophet personally helped in the work of building. The Kaaba can thus lay claim to the proud distinction that three Prophets of God took a personal share in building

it. When the foundation had been excavated to a certain point, a fragment of green rock appeared. When the pick-axe struck it, a flame came from it which dazzled the eyes. Digging was now stopped and the building was commenced till the walls reached the level of the Black Stone. Strife then arose among the families as to which should fix the stone in the wall. It was exceedingly difficult to decide the point to the satisfaction of all, and there was nearly being a great battle among the Kuraish, when, at the instance of Abu Umayya ibn Mughira Makhzumi, it was agreed to abide by the decision of the person who should first enter the Kaaba through the Safa gate. That day the first to enter the gate was the Prophet himself. Every one was glad at the appearance of Muhammad-ul-Amin (the Faithful), that being the title by which the Prophet was known among the Kuraish before his prophetic mission. Each of the families expressed its willingness to do the bidding of the Prophet, who took a sheet of linen and, having placed the sacred stone in it with his own hands, asked the members of each of the clans to hold the cloth on all sides and lift it up together. They obeyed his

order and the stone was raised on the cloth. Then the Prophet took the stone off the cloth with his own sacred hands and fixed it in its place. He thus acted as the representative of all those assembled and they willingly accepted his action. The building of the Kaaba was then completed. The height of the walls was double that of Abraham's wall, but the breadth of the building was reduced, as sufficient material for building was not available. The area thus left was included in the ground of Hatim. Inside the building of the Kaaba two rows of six wooden pillars supported the roof and a staircase leading up to the roof was constructed near the Pillar of Syria. The Prophet at this time was 35 years of age and the divine mission had not yet been revealed to him.

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## CHAPTER III.

### The Building of the Holy Kaaba after the Revelation of Islam.

Abdulla ibn Zubair (May God be gracious to him!) was the first to build the Kaaba after the revelation of Islam. He had heard from his aunt Ayesha, the Truthful, that the Prophet had said to her :—"Had not the people of thy clan (the Kuraish) but lately embraced Islam, I would have dismantled the Kaaba, reducing its height, piercing its western and eastern walls with two doors, and adding to the body of the building the six yards of ground excluded by the Kuraish on the side of the Black Stone. If, however, thy kinsmen wish to take the construction of the holy edifice in hand after I am gone, see thou to it."

When Yazid ibn Muaviya came into power, he wished to receive homage for himself. Many eminent Companions, however, refused to do him homage, among them being Abdulla ibn Zubair who, aided by the people of the Hijaz, Yaman, Irak, and Khorasan, went to Mecca. Meanwhile Yazid

despatched a body of troops under the command of Hassin-ibn-Mair to exterminate Abdulla ibn Zubair. The troops laid siege to Mecca and Ibn Zubair was compelled to seek refuge within the sanctuary of the Kaaba. The besiegers did not respect even the sacred precincts and began by means of certain engines to fling fire at the Kaaba. The covering of the Kaaba and some of the woodwork of the structure were thus set on fire. At this juncture Yazid died and the news of his death caused a panic among the besiegers. Before this Abdulla ibn Zubair had remembered the Prophet's behest conveyed to him by Ayesha, and this occurrence rendered its fulfilment the more necessary. He wished to pull down the remainder of the building. The citizens of Mecca would not, however, take part in razing the structure for fear of violating its sanctity. Abdulla ibn Zubair thereupon had the building razed to the ground by his Ethiopian slaves, in the hope that among them might be the particular Negro who, according to a prediction of the Prophet, was destined to dig down the Kaaba, and that the prophecy might thus be fulfilled and the House of God might not be profaned. After this he built

with stones and *waras* (a mortar found in Yaman) on the foundations laid by Abraham and according to Abraham's plan, and erected doors on the east and west. On the completion of the building, which took place on 27th of Rajab in the year 64 Hijra, the inner as well as the outer surface of the walls was smeared over with an ointment prepared from musk and amber, while a mantle of rich silk was provided for the covering of the Kaaba.

A short while afterwards, during the reign of Abd-ul-Malik ibn Marwan, a second expedition was sent against Abdulla ibn Zubair. This time the expedition was headed by Hajjaj ibn Yusaf. In the battle that followed Abdulla ibn Zubair fell a martyr in the year 73 Hijra and Hajjaj took possession of the province of Mecca on behalf of Abd-ul-Malik ibn Marwan. He made several changes in the building of the Kaaba. He dismantled the portion of the building facing towards Syria and raised it to the height adopted by the Kuraish, filled up the interior with huge fragments of rock, raised the height of the eastern doorway in keeping with the plan of the Kuraish, and closed the western door. He did not, however,

interfere with the rest of the building. This, the second post-Islamic construction of the Kaaba, took place in the year 74 Hijra.

Walid ibn Abd-ul-Malik rebuilt the Kaaba for the third time after the coming of Islam. He was the first to erect pillars of hewn stone in the Kaaba and to employ good *saj* (teakwood) timber in the ceiling. With the exception of occasional repairs, the building was not renewed till the time of Sultan Murad ibn Ahmad Khan of Turkey. That monarch took in hand the fourth construction of the holy edifice in the year 1040 Hijra. With the exception of that portion of the edifice which contains the Black Stone, the whole of the Kaaba was pulled down and reconstructed in accordance with the plan adopted by Hajjaj. It is this building which exists to the present day.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### The Tahlia (Decoration) and the Kiswat (Covering).

#### *The Decorations.*

Sabit, the son of Ishmael, succeeded his father who died at the age of 130 years, as guardian of the Kaaba. After him his maternal grand-father Mazaz ibn Amr Jurhami became guardian. It is important to note that the sons of Ishmael, instead of preferring a hereditary claim to the guardianship, lent their support to Mazaz who thus acquired the status of a king. When, however, the descendants of Ishmael found Mecca too small for them and spread over other places in order to preach the faith of Abraham, the principality of Mecca fell into the hands of the Amaleka clan. This clan had the audacity to violate the sanctity of the Haram. The vengeance of God thereupon overtook them, and they were expelled from their homes. The guardianship of the Kaaba now reverted to the tribe of Jurham. Then they too began to be guilty of the deeds which had taken place among the Amaleka. Mazaz ibn

Amr assembled his clansmen and powerfully exhorted them, but they refused to listen. Thereupon Mazaz dug a deep hole at the bottom of Zamzam which had run dry and buried in it the two golden images set with precious stones, known as the two Gazelles, which had been sent as an offering to the Kaaba by Ibn-i-Sasan. Mazaz then left Mecca, his clan remaining behind. Very few days, however, passed after the voluntary exile of Mazaz before the Jurham clan was turned out of Mecca by the Banu Khuzaah. From that time all traces of Zamzam were lost. Abd-ul-Mutalib, the grand-father of the Prophet, searched again and dug it out, and the two golden images were found. Abd-ul-Mutalib covered the pillars of the Kaaba with the gold. Abdulla ibn Zubair, when building the Kaaba, also plated its pillars with gold and made golden keys for it. Subsequently Abd-ul-Malik had the gate of the Kaaba plated with gold at a cost of 36,000 dinars. The Mizab-i-Rahmat (drain of mercy) was under orders from the same monarch also made of solid gold and the pillars in the interior of the holy building were coated with gold. Later on Amin-ur-Rashid, the Abbaside Khalifa, improved it at

a further cost of 18,000 dinars ; while the Khalifa Mutawakkil Billah commissioned Ishak ibn Salma to repair the golden corners of the sacred building, to adorn the upper fringe of the interior covering of the Kaaba with a silver border three yards wide surmounted by a gold circlet, and to replace the old portal which was made of teakwood by a new one mounted with silver. All this work cost 8,000 miskals of gold and 70,000 dirhams of silver. Afterwards at the instance of certain dignitaries of the Kaaba, the Khalifa Mutazid Billah had the entrance of the Kaaba repaired. Later, in the year 310 Hijra, the mother of the Khalifa Muktadir Billah commissioned her slave, Lulu, to have all the pillars of the Kaaba plated with gold. Again, in the year 549 Hijra, Jamal-ud-din Muhammad, the Egyptian Minister, had the pillars in the interior of the Kaaba coated with plates of gold and silver. A similar service was done to the Holy Place by Malik Muzaffar Ghassani of Yaman and Malik Nasir Kalaon. In the year 961 Hijra, when Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey covered the Kaaba with a new roof, he also had the doors of the holy edifice encased in silver gilt. A drain of solid gold was also made in Constantinople,

and sent for the Mizab-i-Rahmat. Since that period all repairs to the sacred shrine have been carried out from time to time at the expense of the Turkish Government.

### THE COVERING.

Shah Asaad, known as Tubba-i-Hamyari, King of Yaman, was the first to furnish the Kaaba with a covering. He did this in consequence of a dream in which he saw himself in the act of investing the Kaaba in drapery. He dreamed a second dream and the result was another covering. But there is nothing on record to show of what stuff the cover was made. From the time of Kusai ibn Kilab it had been the custom to provide a covering for the Kaaba annually at the joint expense of the families of the Kuraish. With the consent, however, of the families of the Kuraish, Abu Rabia Makhzumi, a wealthy merchant, arranged to furnish the covering every other year at his own cost while they supplied it jointly in the remaining years. This arrangement lasted during the lifetime of Abu Rabia. Down to the close of the Days of Ignorance the Kuraish continued to provide the

covering. This was never changed, but each succeeding year the old drapery was overlaid with a fresh one. With the revelation of Islam, according to a tradition by the historian Wakidi, the Prophet imitated his ancestor Ishmael, the son of Abraham, in covering the Kaaba with a mantle of Yaman cloth, a practice which was followed by the Khalifa Umar. Azraki is responsible for the legend that the practice of placing one cover over another ceased during the Khilafat of Umar who ordained that the old covering should be replaced yearly by a new one, the former being distributed among the pilgrims. Subsequently in the time of the Khalifa Usman the practice of having two coverings annually was commenced. Under the rule of the Amir Muaviya the old coverings were taken off preparatory to perfuming the Kaaba which was then dressed in coverings from Deba, Jabr, and Kabata. The covering of the Kaaba consists of two parts, the upper called the *Kamis* (vest) and the lower called the *Izar* (drawers). The following is the order in which the Kaaba was dressed twice a year. A covering from Deba was put on during the period of pilgrimage. To this was added later, on the expiry of the first ten

days of Muharram, an extra *Izar* which lasted till the 27th of Ramzan, when the second covering was put on. But during the Khilafat of Mamun-ur-Rashid he ordered that the covering of the holy edifice should be changed three times a year. According to this arrangement, the Kaaba was decked in scarlet from Deba during the season of the Hajj, a robe from Kabata was put on in the early part of Rajab and was changed for one of white from Deba at the festival of the Id-ul-Fitr. Towards the end of Mamun's reign it was urged that the excessive wear to which the Izar of the Kaaba was subjected did not admit of its lasting throughout the year and that consequently its renewal was necessary at the time of the Id. Mamun granted this request. Later on, during the Khilafat of Mutawakkil Alallah, a further renewal of the *Izar* in the month of Rajab was asked for. Mutawakkil sanctioned the renewal of the Izar on each occasion that the covering was changed. The length of the Kamis was, moreover, increased so as to bring its skirt to the level of the floor. Eventually, in the year 240 Hijra, orders were issued that the *Izar* should be changed every other month. On the break-up of the Abbaside Khilafat the

sanctuary was furnished with its annual covering sometimes by the Sultans of Egypt and sometimes by the kings of Yaman according as their respective means permitted. Ultimately the Egyptian Sultans began to send the holy covering regularly every year. Sultan Malik Salih, son of Sultan Malik Nasir, made an endowment of two villages Bisu and Sundhis, which were purchased by him with the express object of furnishing the necessary revenues to cover the cost of the annual covering. Nevertheless, whenever a new King came to the throne, he used to supply the Kaaba with a sable covering for the exterior of the sanctuary and a red covering for the interior, together with a green one for the Prophet's tomb. The letters of the sacred *Kalima*, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Prophet), are woven into the body of these coverings, while the border is sometimes left blank and sometimes inscribed with suitable verses from the Kuran. When Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey, after fighting a battle with the Charkuses, (Circassians) conquered Hijaz, the holy tomb of the Prophet received its usual offering of a cover from the victorious Sultan who ordered

that Egypt should continue to pay its religious tribute of a black covering for the Kaaba.

When the annual income of the villages declined and became too small to defray these expenses, Sultan Sulaiman Khan ordered that the necessary expenses should be defrayed from the Imperial Treasury. Eventually the endowment was increased by adding other villages to Sundhis and Bisus and the expense has since been met from their income.

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## CHAPTER V.

### The Foundation of the Mosque of the Prophet (May the choicest peace descend on his ashes!).

The memorable event of the Flight took the Prophet to Medina the Illustrious. At first the holy fugitive sojourned for some time in the hamlet of Kuba as the guest of Kulthum ibn Hadum. Kulthum was the owner of a plot of land on which dates were spread to dry. In Arabia such land is technically known as Mirbad. The Prophet acquired this plot of land and built a mosque on it. A large quantity of stones had previously been accumulated for building. The Prophet himself marked the lines of the edifice with a spear and laid the foundation stone with his own truth-worshipping hands. He then asked Abu Bakr the Truthful to lay a stone next to that already deposited by him. Next he asked Umar to place another stone next to that laid by Abu Bakr. All the Companions present on the occasion then received similar permission. In due course the Kanati Mosque was finished. This mosque, which

had its *Kibla* towards Jerusalem, was the first in which the Prophet worshipped with his Companions.

After a few days the Prophet repaired to Medina under the divine command. His mother's kinsmen, surnamed the Bani Najjar, accompanied him. The day of his arrival at Medina happened to be a Friday. Immediately on his arrival he performed the Friday service with the congregation of his followers in the hollow of the Zisulb valley. He then mounted his camel, which was called Kaswa, and entered Medina the Illustrious. The citizens welcomed him with one accord and everyone was anxious to place his house at his disposal. Though this wish was genuine and heart-felt, the Prophet exclaimed :—"Make way for my camel my friends. She has received God's order as to my destination. Wherever she sits down, there will I take up my abode." At last the camel Kaswa sat down at the spot where the Prophet's mosque now stands. The Prophet, however, was yet on her back when Kaswa got up of her own accord and sat down a little further on before the house of Abu Ayyub Ansari. The Prophet took up his quarters in this house and

lived in it for seven months. During this time he made up his mind to build a mosque, and the site at which Kaswa had first stopped was chosen for the construction of the Prophet's Mosque.

## The First Construction.

The author of the "Nuzhat-un-Nazirin-fi Masjidi Sayyad-il-Awwalini wa-l-Akhirin" has stated that the site selected for the Prophet's Mosque was a plot of *Mirbad* land belonging to two orphans, Sahl and Suhail, who were under the guardianship of Asaad ibn Zararah. When the Prophet proceeded to settle the price, the orphans desired to make over the plot as a free gift. The Prophet, however, would not accept the offer on these terms and the land was thereupon sold to him for ten pieces of gold. On this ground he built a mosque 70 cubits long by 60 cubits broad. The *Kibla* of the mosque was towards Jerusalem which in those days was the *Kibla* of the Musalmans. The trees standing on the ground over which the mosque was built were transplanted to the ground situated on the side of the *Kibla*. There were also some graves which were levelled with the ground. The mosque had a wall which

surrounded the building. It was in this mosque that the Prophet continued to lead the congregation in the service of prayer. The historian Thalabi is responsible for the statement that the northern wall of the mosque ran in a straight line parallel to the direction of the *Kibla*. At the back of the mosque which now faces towards the *Kibla* was a door. The mosque had two other doors. Of these one known in those days as the Bab-ul-Atika is now called the Bab-ur-Rahmat (door of mercy). The other was termed the Bab-Al-i-Usman (door of Usman's descendants) and is now called the Bab-i-Jabrail (Gabriel's door). The mosque retained this shape for one year and five months. Then, in pursuance of the following divine commandment, the *Kibla* of the Musalmans was changed towards the holy Kaaba :—

"Verily We see thy face (O Prophet !) turned towards the heavens. We shall therefore turn thy face in the direction that thou listest. Then do thou turn thy face towards the Masjid-ul-Haram (Kaaba). And ye people ! turn your faces forthwith as he turneth his face."

It now became necessary to alter the mosque.

The southern door was closed and one was opened on the opposite side. The wall facing Jerusalem was fixed as the place where the Companions of the Prophet, called the "Ashab-i-Sufa," should stand. In the mosque branches of date-palms were placed on pillars of palms for shade. Adjoining the mosque, rooms were constructed for the accommodation of the Mothers of the Faithful, Ayesha and Suda. Ayesha's room was on the east side of the mosque, where the Prophet's tomb now stands.

### The Second Construction.

The Prophet's mosque was constructed a second time during the lifetime of its founder on his return to Medina from the battle of Khaibar. This time the building was made stronger and more capacious. Its size was increased to a hundred cubits in each direction. The foundation was dug out to a depth of 3 cubits and was of unburnt bricks. The Prophet personally helped in the building by lifting bricks and stones and used to repeat:—"O Lord there is no happiness save that which cometh at the last. Forgive Thou the Helpers and those who have

fled." The pillars and the roofs of the new building remained as before.

### The Third Construction.

In the year 17 Hijra, the Khalifa Umar had the Prophet's mosque constructed for the third time. The area of the building was now extended to 140 cubits by 120 cubits. The western and eastern walls were each pierced with a door while another door was added in the front wall. The mosque now had six instead of three doors, but no change was made in the simple style of the structure, except that the date-palm pillars were replaced by pillars of other wood. The walls remained of the same unburnt brick and there was the same temporary roof of palm branches. This structure lasted till the month of Safar, in the year 29 Hijra.

### The Fourth Construction.

The Khalifa Uthman began the fourth building of the Prophet's mosque in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 29 Hijra. The wall on the side of the *Kibla* was extended to some distance and on the side towards Syria a strip of ground 10

cubits broad was included in the area of the mosque. A similar extension was made on the western side, but the eastern boundary was not extended. The walls were built of carved stones. The pillars also were of stone and in order to add to their strength they were bound with iron clamps fixed with molten lead. Teakwood rafters were put into the roof for shelter. There were still six doors as in the time of the Khalifa Umar. The building was completed as the moon rose on the night of the 1st of Muharram in the year 30 Hijra.

### The Fifth Construction.

In the year 88 Hijra, Walid bin Abdul-Malik ordered Amr ibn Abd-ul-Aziz, his Governor of Medina, to rebuild the Prophet's mosque. In carrying out the commands of his master, Amr pulled down and added to the body of the mosque all the rooms belonging to the Mothers of the Faithful on the northern, eastern, and southern sides of the edifice, except that of the Lady Ayesha in which was the Prophet's tomb. Two pillars were added to the western part of the mosque and one pillar to the eastern part. A portion

also of Ayesha's room was included in the mosque. In the part of the building facing towards Syria ten pillars were added. The walls of the mosque were built of hewn stone, and the pillars were also of stone strengthened with iron clamps and lead. All the walls were decorated with marble and blue tiles. The beams of the roof were gilded teakwood. Ornamental work in gold and blue tiles was lavished on the interior. The upper ends of the pillars represented curious designs in gold and supported gilded rafters. The wood of the doors was also gilded. The building was completed in the year 91 Hijra at a cost of 45,000 dinars.

### Alteration in connection with the Fifth Construction.

In the year 161 Hijra, Mahdi the Abbaside enlarged the Prophet's mosque, thereby increasing its length to 300 cubits and its breadth to 180 cubits. The ground was extended in the direction of Syria. There is no ground for the belief that the additions made by the later Sultans do not form part of the Prophet's mosque, for the Prophet said: "If this mosque were extended to Sanaa, it would still be my mosque."

### The Sixth Construction.

On the evening of Friday, the 1st Ramazan, 654 Hijra, a servant of the mosque, going into the store-room to bring out the lamps, accidentally left a light there and the store-room caught fire. The flames reached the roof of the mosque before anyone discovered them. The Governor of Medina and the entire populace rushed to the scene of the conflagration and did their best to extinguish the fire, but without success. Except the dome which contained the manuscript copy of the Kuran written by the Khalifa Uthman, the whole building was destroyed. The occurrence was reported that year to the Abbaside Khalifa Mustaasam Billah who ordered the reconstruction of the mosque. This was begun in the early part of the year 655 Hijra. The structure, however, had only been begun when the year 656 Hijra brought martyrdom to Mustaasam Billah, and the victory to Hulaku Khan which ended in the fall of the Abbaside Khalifat. Then Nur-ud-din Aibak Salihi, King of Egypt, and Shams-ud-din ibn Amr, King of Yaman, undertook the building. In the same year, however, Nur-ud-din Aibak was deposed, and his slave Saif-ud-din Mahmud

became king. The year was not complete when Malik Zahir Rukn-ud-din Bibras, the gun-bearer, put Saif-ud-din Mahmud to death and seized the kingdom of Egypt. This sovereign finished the building which remained unaltered up to the year 704 Hijra.

### Alteration in connection with the Sixth Construction.

In the year 705 Hijra, Malik Nasir Muhammad ibn Kalaon Salihi ordered that the roof of the mosque should be repaired, and the work was completed in the following year. Later on, in the year 719 Hijra, Malik Nasir Muhammad had two porches added to the part of the building which faced towards the *Kibla*. These were repaired by Mukbil Kadidi in 731 Hijra under orders from King Ashraf Barsabai. He also reconstructed the portion of the building adjoining the Sanjaria Minaret on the Syrian side of the mosque. The roof as well as the Prophet's tomb were next repaired in the year 853 Hijra under orders from the King Zahir Chakmak by Bardbak, his chief architect. After this, in the year 879 Hijra,

Malik Ashraf Katibai caused his agent Shams-ud-din ibn-uz-Zaman to repair the roof of the mosque.

### The Seventh Construction.

At an hour and-a-half before midnight on the 13th of Ramazan in the year 886 Hijra, the head Muazzin of the Prophet's Mosque had mounted the Raisa Minaret and was proclaiming the glory of Allah while his subordinates were on the other minarets, when suddenly a dense black cloud arose and there was such a peal of thunder that all sleepers were awakened. Lightning struck the *hilal* (crescent) of the Raisa Minaret, and killed the head Muazzin. It pierced the upper roof and the beams caught fire. Then it traversed the lower roof and set it on fire. The fire started midway between the Raisa Minaret and the Prophet's tomb and in an instant the roofs of both the storeys were burnt. The servants of the Mosque flung open the doors and the alarm was given. The Governor of Medina and all the citizens ran up and made every possible effort to put down the fire but the

more they tried the more the flames grew. In a short time the whole edifice was on fire, and the interior was like a furnace. The assistant store-keeper and some ten or twenty other persons perished in the flames. The dome containing Uthman's manuscript of the Kuran and the Prophet's tomb, including the pillars adjoining it, remained uninjured, but all the rest of the mosque with its furniture was destroyed. It was wonderful that while huge torches of flames fell on the adjoining structures, these portions remained unscathed, while in the mosque itself the fire raged so furiously as to burn everything. The catastrophe was reported on the 16th Ramazan, 886 Hijra, to king Ashraf Katibai in Egypt, who ordered the reconstruction of the mosque. This time the mosque was erected at a cost of 1,20,000 dinars. A dome was built over the Musalla of the mosque and great pains were taken in its structure and decoration. A dome was also erected over the Mihrab-i-Uthmani (arch of Uthman), and the portion of the ground which had been detached from the Prophet's grave and incorporated in the body of the mosque was retransferred to the holy tomb.

### Improvements.

Subsequently in the year 999 Hijra Sultan Murad Khan added three more porches to the mosque. These porches were constructed in the yard adjoining the part of the building towards the Kibla.

### The Eighth Construction.

In the year 1263 Hijra, when the latest building of the Prophet's mosque was 400 years old, Daud Pasha, the Governor of Medina, in consultation with the chief men of the city, represented to Sultan Abd-ul-Majid Khan that the building, being very old, required renewal, and asked his attention to the matter. Accordingly in the year 1265 Hijra the Engineers Ramzi Effendi and Uthman Effendi were sent by the Sublime Porte to Medina to inspect it. After examining the building they submitted a full report to the Turkish Government which ordered the holy edifice to be rebuilt. This time the building was to be erected on a grander scale than ever. Halim Effendi was appointed Architect-in-Chief and an army of skilful artisans and masons with their tools were sent with him. On landing at Yambu the Architect-

in-Chief was of opinion that a quarry must be found near Medina to facilitate the supply of materials before the work of construction could be begun. Ibrahim Agha with a few artisans was accordingly deputed to Medina to look for a suitable quarry. The party reached the holy city in the beginning of Rajab, 1266 Hijra, and began to search for a source from which good stone could be obtained. In the Wadi-ul-Akik (valley of the Cornelian) which lies about three miles from Medina, the party came across an excellent quarry near Ali's spring, the stones from which were red like cornelians. The author of the Nuzhat-un-Nazirin states that a Beduin supplied the party with information as to this quarry. On discovering the spot they were anxious to reward their informant and searched much for him, but in vain. A camp was quickly pitched near the quarry for the accommodation of the workmen, and the work of hewing and shaping the stones was commenced. At this time Muhammad Rashid Effendi Azmiri held the post of Muhafiz Pasha in Medina. Halim Effendi, the Architect-in-Chief, thinking that some time must elapse before the actual work of construction could begin, resolved to avail himself of

the interval in order to perform the Hajj. He accordingly made over charge to Sharif Effendi, entrusted Muhammad Rashid Effendi with the duty of distributing wages among the workmen, and set out on his journey to Mecca, where he died. Before Halim Effendi's departure for Mecca, Ashraf Effendi had been summoned to Constantinople on urgent business and with a sum of £T.75,000 at his disposal proceeded to Mecca where he arrived after the death of Halim Effendi. He too died there. The Imamzada Asaad Effendi, who had gone to Mecca in connection with the pilgrimage, now received orders from the Sultan to go straight to Medina after performing the Hajj and there to supervise the construction of the Prophet's Mosque. In pursuance of this order the Imamzada went to Medina. After a few days he appointed Abd-ul-Latif Effendi, the Turkish Treasurer, to be Muhafiz (guardian) of Medina in place of Muhammad Rashid Effendi and conferred the post of Secretary to the Building upon Badri Effendi. He then devoted himself to the task of supervising the construction of the mosque. In the meantime Mir Miran Pasha, Governor of Tripoli, received instructions

from the Sublime Porte to proceed to Medina and take over charge of the construction of the sacred edifice. He accordingly arrived at Medina on the 22nd of Shaaban, 1267 Hijra, accompanied by Hafiz Effendi and Izzat Effendi, two skilled masons. A wooden model of the proposed mosque was prepared under his orders. It was surmounted with a tiny dome cut out of a stone obtained from the new quarry and was so highly polished and burnished as to exactly resemble a piece of flesh-coloured agate. This model was then sent in charge of the two masons to the Sultan for inspection. When it had been approved the work of building was taken in hand on the Syrian side, and the mosque was gradually completed and assumed the magnificent appearance which it now presents. In order not to tax the patience of my readers and to avoid prolixity I shall end this Chapter with the accompanying photographs of the mosque.

### A Wonderful Natural Phenomenon.

A wonderful natural phenomenon is worthy of mention in this connection. While the foundation was being excavated between the Sutun-

ut-Tauba (pillar of repentence) and the Sutun-us-Sarir (pillar of the throne) which constitutes the space at the head of the Prophet's tomb, there appeared a spring of water, the fragrance of which spread around. Several people tried it and found the water wholesome and fit to drink. Some of the water was also sent to the Sultan as a sacred gift, and the citizens of Medina at large had the good fortune to taste it. The spring, however, obstructed the work of construction and the officer in charge of the building had it closed. The foundation was then filled up and, instead of water, rose-water was freely employed as a mark of reverence. The building was completed at the end of *Zihaj*, 1277 Hijra, at a cost of £T.650,000.

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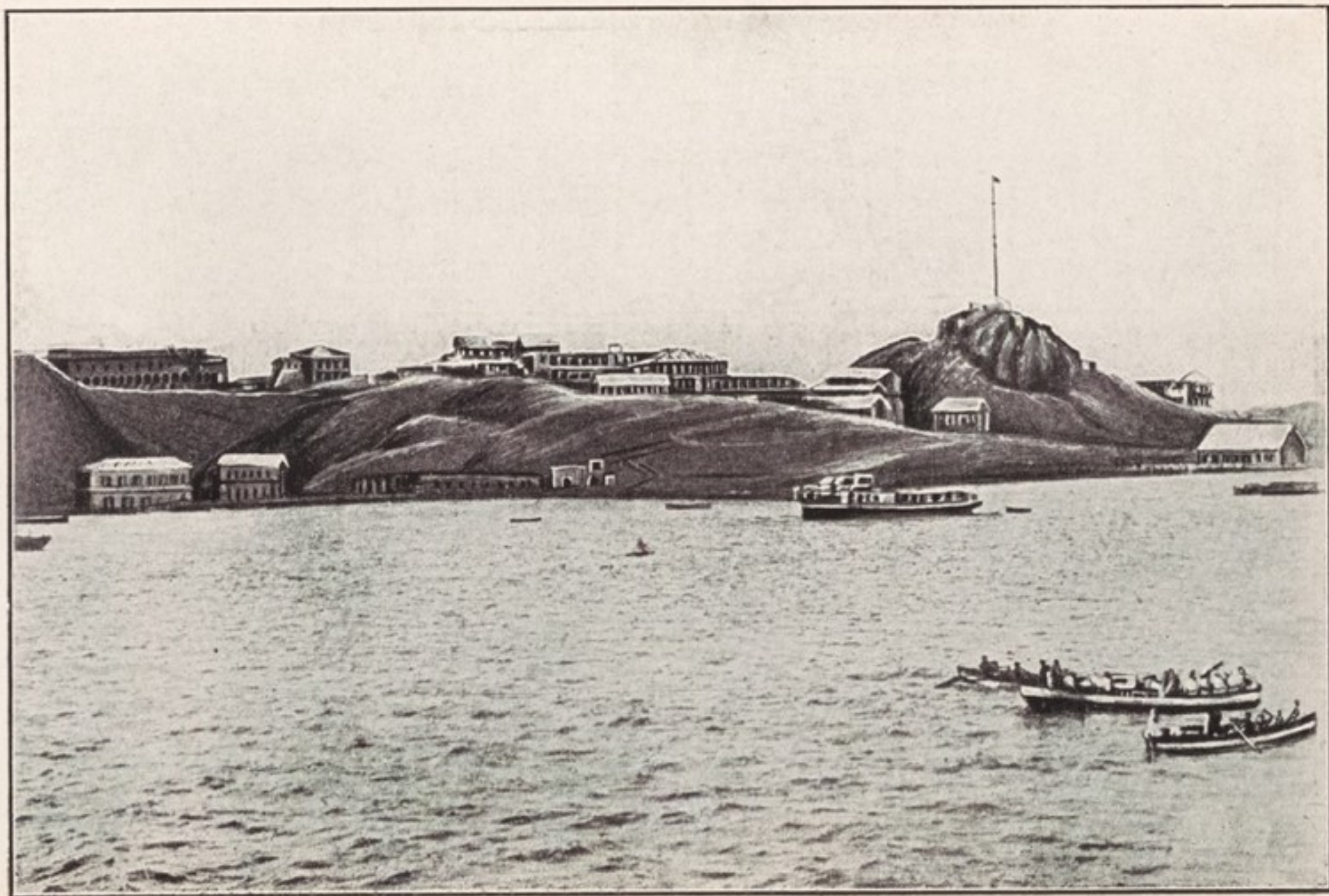
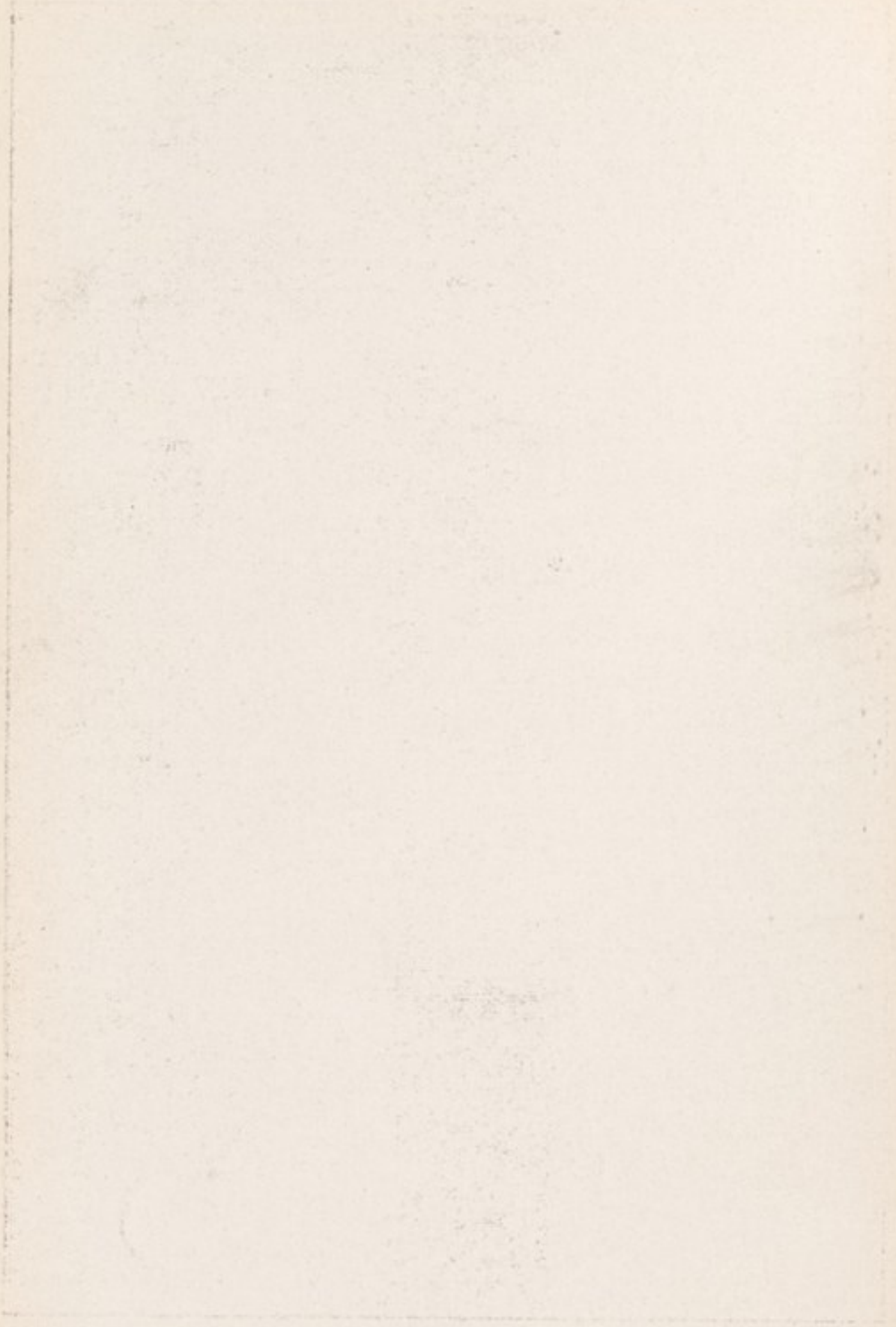
# SUPPLEMENT TO BOOK I.

## NUMISMATICAL STATEMENT SHOWING THE ARABIAN CURRENCY.

| No. | Metallic description of coin. | Name of coin. | No. of designs. | Value in terms of other Arabian coins. | Value in terms of British Indian currency. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Rs. | A. | P. |
| 1 | Gold. | Abu Farjulla ... | 4 designs. | 5 Osmanlis. | 68 | 12 | 0 |
| 2 | do. | ½ Abu Farjulla ... | 4 ,, | 2½ ,, | 34 | 6 | 0 |
| 3 | do. | Osmanli ... | 7 ,, | ,, | 13 | 12 | 0 |
| 4 | do. | ½ Osmanli ... | 7 ,, | ,, | 6 | 14 | 0 |
| 5 | do. | ¼ Osmanli ... | 7 ,, | ,, | 3 | 7 | 0 |
| 6 | do. | Ghazia Majhudia Min-al-Kibar. | 2 ,, | 1 Osmanlis. | 13 | 12 | 0 |
| 7 | do. | Ghazia Majhudia Min-al-Sighar. | 5 ,, | ,, | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| 8 | do. | Ghazia Majidia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| 9 | do. | ½ Majidia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 2 | 12 | 0 |
| 10 | do. | ¼ Majidia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| 11 | do. | ⅛ Majidia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| 12 | do. | Ghazia Azizia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | do. | ½ Azizia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| 14 | do. | ¼ Azizia ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 15 | Silver. | Majidi ... | 12 ,, | ,, | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| 16 | do. | ½ Majidi .. | 12 ,, | ,, | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 17 | do. | ¼ Majidi ... | 12 ,, | ,, | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 18 | do. | Double Kursh Sagh Abu Sittah. | $\frac{12}{2}$ ,, | ,, | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 19 | do. | Kursh Sagh Abu Sittah. | $\frac{12}{2}$ ,, | ,, | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 20 | do. | ½ Kursh Sagh .. | $\frac{12}{2}$ ,, | ,, | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 21 | Silver & copper. | Bashlak Kabir ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 22 | do. | ½ Bashlak Kabir ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 23 | do. | ¼ do. ... | 2 ,, | ,, | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 24 | do. | Quadruple Halela | 2 ,, | ,, | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 25 | do. | Double Halela ... | 2 ,, | ,, | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 26 | do. | 1 —— Halela ... | 2 ,, | ,, | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 27 | do. | ½ Halela ... | 2 ,, | ,, | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 28 | Copper | Khamsa Fardani... | 1 ,, | ⅙ Halela | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 29 | do. | Kursh ... | 3 ,, | 8 Khamsas | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 30 | do. | Ashrin ... | 3 ,, | 4 ,, | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 31 | do. | Ashra ... | 3 ,, | 2 ,, | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 32 | do. | Diwani ... | 2 ,, | ⅕ ,, | 0 | 0 | ⅕ |
| | | **EGYPTIAN COINS CURRENT IN ARABIA.** | | | | | |
| 33 | Gold. | Jeni Misri (Egyptian Guinea). | 1 design. | 5 Riyals | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| 34 | Silver. | Riyal ... | 1 ,, | 5 Riyals | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 35 | do. | 2 Riyal ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 1 | 8 | 0 |

EGYPTIAN COINS.—(*concld.*)

| No. | Metallic description of coin. | Name of coin. | No. of designs. | Value in terms of other Arabian coins. | Value in terms of British Indian currency. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Rs. | A. | P. |
| 36 | Silver. | ¼ Riyal ... | 1 design. | Riyals | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| 37 | do. | Double Kursh Sagh | 1 ,, | ,, | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| 38 | do. | Kursh Sagh ... | 1 ,, | ,, | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| 39 | Copper. | Kursh Tearifa ... | 1 ,, | ⅓ Kursh Sagh. | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| 40 | do. | ½ Kursh Taarifa ... | 1 ,, | ⅙ ,, | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 41 | do. | ¼ Kursh Taarifa ... | 1 ,, | $\frac{1}{12}$ ,, | 0 | 0 | 4½ |
| 42 | do. | Mileen ... | 1 ,, | 4 Khamsas | 0 | 0 | 4 |

View of Aden.

# A DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS SHRINES IN ARABIA.

## ADEN.

### The tombs of the Shaikh Aidrus and his two sons and nephews.

One cemetery contains all the five graves. The tomb-stones are not flat like those in India, but are the height of a man.

### The tomb of Aban, the son of Uthman (May God be pleased with him !).

Aban was the son of Uthman, the third Khalifa, not by the Prophet's daughter, but by another wife.

### Shrines between Aden and Jeddah.

### Mount Yalamlam.

There is a rock named Yalamlam in the sea near Jeddah, the limits of which are known to the learned. It is a religious ordinance that the *ihram* (sacred clothes) should be put on after passing this rock. The ceremony of the *ihram* is this: after performing the *ghusl* (total ablution) and the *wazu* (partial ablution) the men cover the upper part of their body with a sheet and wrap another sheet round their lower limbs. They keep

their heads bare. The women after bathing and performing ablution continue to wear their ordinary clothes, but do not cover their faces with a veil.* The use of perfumes, eating spiced food, paring the nails, oiling and combing the hair, painting the eyes with *surma* (powdered antimony), applying *missi* † to the teeth, wearing more ornaments than usual, dressing in gay clothes edged with gold or silver lace, beautifying the hands with henna, conjugal intercourse, killing game on land, destroying any living being, and indulging in mirth and amusement are forbidden to those in *ihram*. The rules of *ihram* vary with the object in view. If the object is the *Umra*,‡ the pilgrim divests himself of the *ihram* dress, after he has made the circuit

* "A woman may wear sewn clothes, white or light blue (not black), but her face-veil should be kept at a distance from her face." (Burton's pilgrimage to Almadina and Mecca.)

† A powder prepared from vitriol, etc., which is used by the women of India to blacken their teeth.

‡ Pilgrimage in Islam is of two kinds. When a pilgrim pays a visit to the Kaaba at the appointed time of the year and goes through a full course of the prescribed ritual, he is said to have performed the Hajj (simple pilgrimage). Any visit to the sanctuary out of season for a similar purpose is known as the Umra (the lesser pilgrimage). The latter differs in some of its forms from the former. Hajj-i-akbar the great pilgrimage), which has been distinguished by some as a separate division, in reality partakes of the nature of the simple pilgrimage; only it is regarded as more auspicious because during its course the day of "Arafat" happens to fall on a Friday.

of the Kaaba and accomplished the run between Safa and Marwa. After the *ihram* is taken off *hulk* and *kasr* take place. If the *ihram* is assumed with a view to performing the Hajj, the pilgrim divests himself of it after he has performed the circuit of the Kaaba, the run between the Safa and the Marwa, the sacrifice, the *hulk*, and the *kasr*. The *hulk* (shaving) and the *kasr* (cropping) signify tonsure of the whole or part of the head or a complete shaving for men, and cutting four finger breadths off the locks in the case of women. The observance of these rules is obligatory upon every man and woman each time that he or she performs the Hajj or Umra. Pilgrims from India, Egypt, and Yaman put on the *ihram* from Yalamlam and provide themselves with the *hadi* (victims) at Aden. Pilgrims from Medina, on the other hand, assume the sacred garb at Zu-l-Halifa and bring the *hadi* all the way either from Zu-l-Halifa or Medina. For pilgrims from Syria and Najd, Hajfa and Karn respectively are the places from which the *ihram* is put on and the *hadi* obtained.

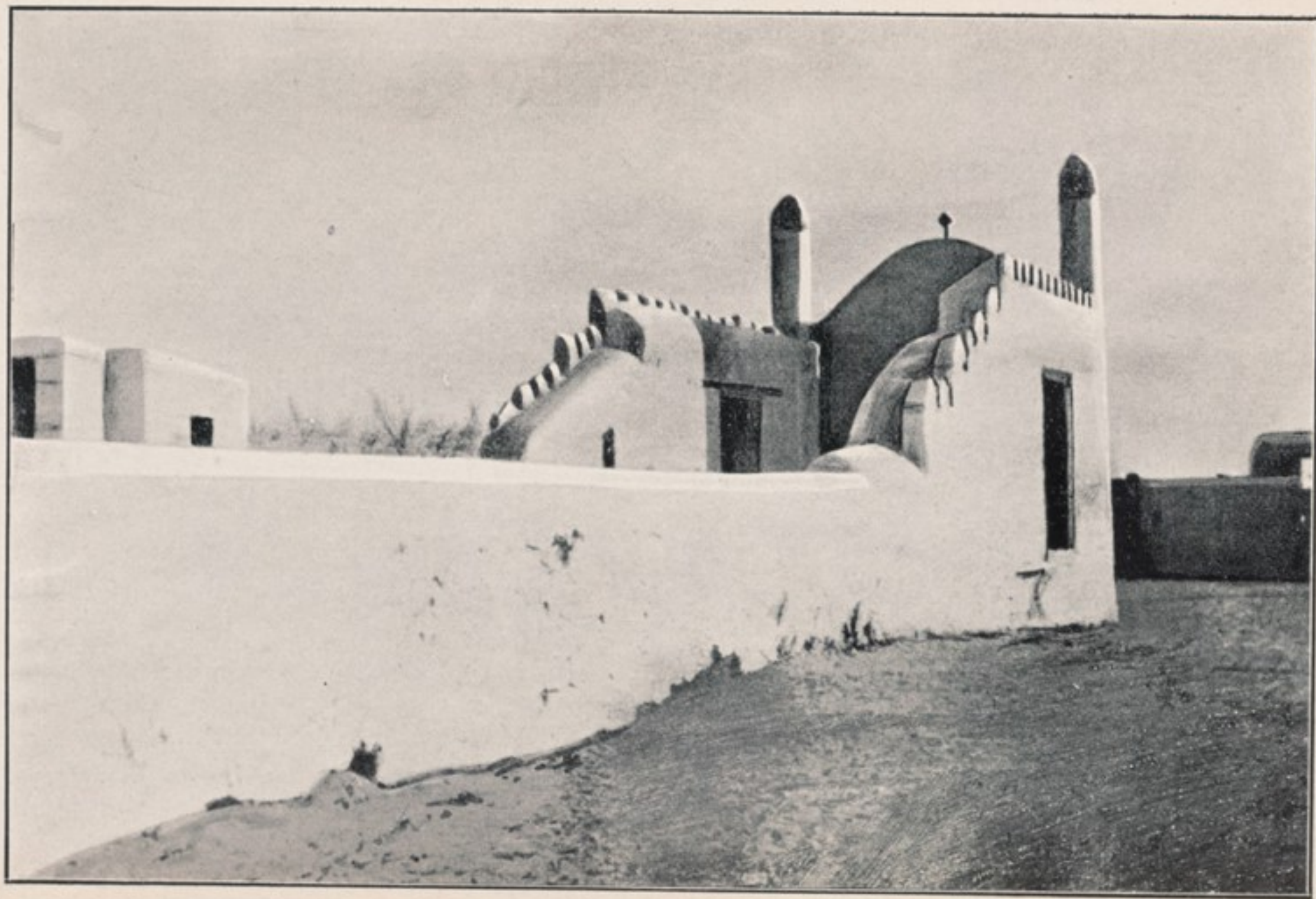
*Hadi* signifies victims, *i.e.*, those animals which are brought for sacrifice. Sheep, goats,

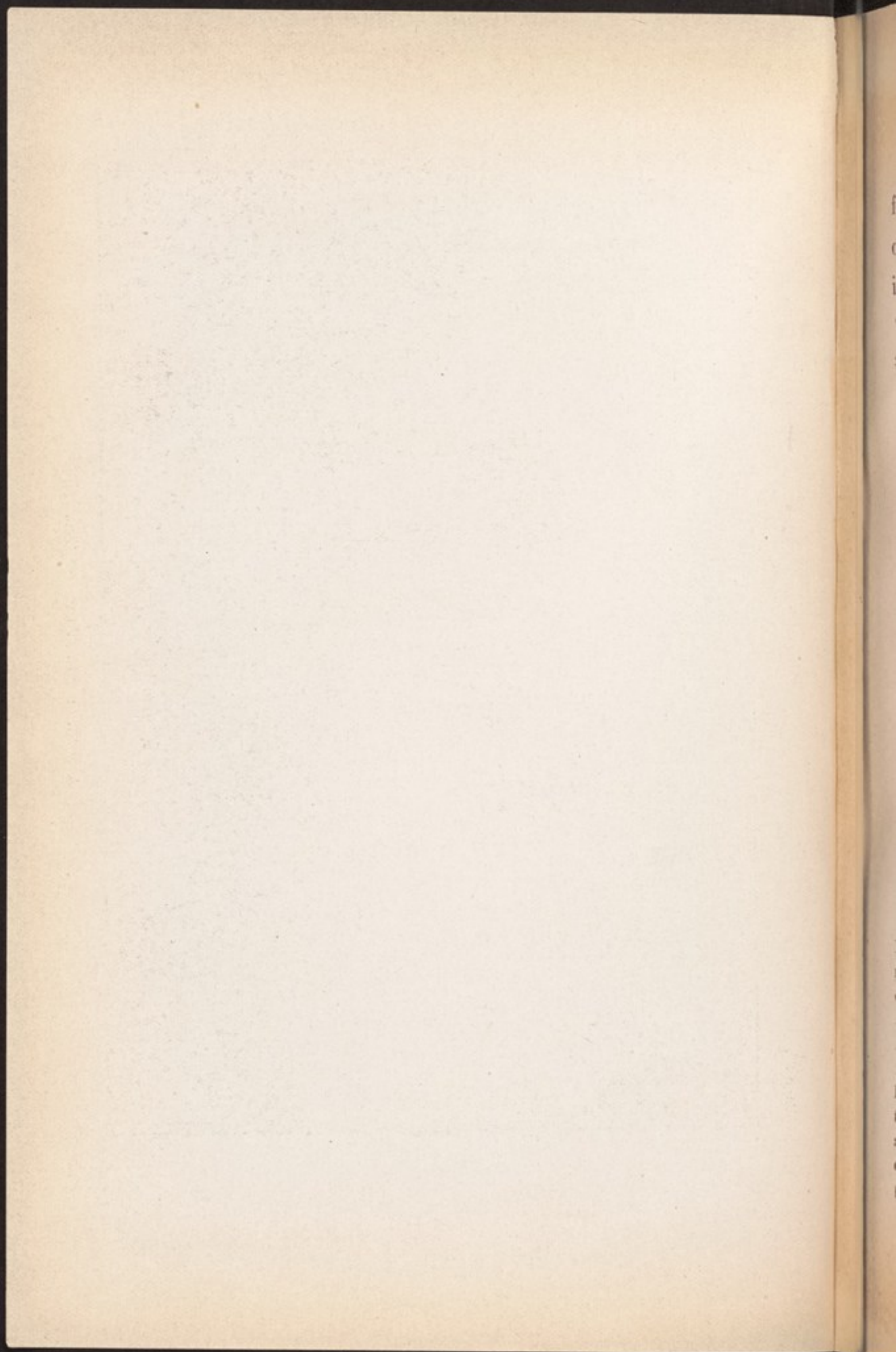
camels, cows, and bullocks are imported from the places mentioned above by the intending pilgrims who look with great care after their food and drink till they are sacrificed. The animals are in the meantime well fed, and they are richly clothed and adorned at the time of sacrifice according to the means of the pilgrims. After the sacrifice their ornamental trappings and their flesh are distributed in charity. The pilgrims themselves also consume the sacrificial meat. The adornment of the victim, however, is not obligatory, but depends on the means of the pilgrims.

Seven pilgrims may share in the sacrifice of one cow. Very few kine, however, are slaughtered on the occasion. Camels, sheep, and goats are the usual offerings. The Prophet says: "Fatten your victims; they will convey you over the Sirat."

### The Port of Jeddah.

#### *The Tomb of Eve.*

Save the tomb of Eve, the wife of Adam, there is no celebrated monument in Jeddah. Outside the city-wall enclosing the town stand two walls about the height of the waist. These walls run

THE TOMB OF EVE.

A dome of the Tomb of Eve.

for a distance of some 300 paces and at either end of them stands a diminutive dome. In the centre is a large dome. This central dome is called "Eve's Navel."* People are required to pray inside this dome. The tomb is surrounded by a vast enclosure which contains a large number of graves.

### THE MOSQUE OF ZAKHARIAH.

Jeddah abounds in mosques of which one is celebrated as Zakhariah's Mosque.

### MASJID-I-JAMI.

There is also a Masjid-i-Jami (Central Mosque). Before the Friday prayer the *Khutba* is

* It will be interesting to compare this with Sir Richard Burton's lucid account. To quote from his monumental work "Pilgrimage to Al Madina and Mecca :

"The mother is supposed to lie, like a Moslemah fronting the Kaabah, with her feet northwards, her head southwards, and her right cheek propped by her right hand. Whitewashed and conspicuous to the voyager and traveller from afar, is a diminutive dome with an opening to the west; it is furnished as such places usually are in Al Hijaz. Under it and in the centre is a square stone, planted upright and fancifully carved, to represent the omphalic region of the human frame. This as well as the dome, is called As Surrah or the Navel . . . . . . . Having prayed here and at the head, where a few young trees grow, we walked along the side of the two parallel dwarf walls which define the outlines of the body ; they are about six paces apart."

thus read :—the *Khatib* (preacher) takes his stand on the pulpit with the *asa* (emblematic rod) in his hand, throws a mantle over his head, and recites the *Khutba.*

### Masjid-i-Hudaibia near the Sacred Precincts of the Kaaba.

This mosque commemorates a memorable incident. Once when the Prophet went to Mecca to perform the Hajj the idolators of Mecca withstood him. Every possible effort was made to induce them to give way but they were inflexible. At last the Prophet sent his sacrificial offerings to Mecca and returned to Medina without performing the Hajj. While negotiations were going on and terms being made with the Meccans, the Prophet stayed here and prayed, and a mosque was subsequently built on the spot in memory of the event. Pilgrims visit this mosque where they pray with two *rakaats* (bows).

Near Hudaibia there is a plain bounded by two hills. From this plain, which is called the Kahwa-i-Shamsia, the Sacred Precincts commence, and from here reverence for the House of God becomes a duty, and appropriate prayers begin to be said.

### The Boundary of the Holy Ground.

Persons entering the holy ground must not pluck a twig, branch, leaf, flower, or fruit from any tree standing thereon, and must not hunt nor play nor jest.

### Mecca the Magnificent.

#### *The Lady Ayesha's Mosque.*

Taim, where there is a mosque, is situated at a distance of about six miles from the *Haram* (the sacred precincts). Dwellers in Mecca (including every person who enters Mecca before the month of Shawwal) commence the performance of the *Umra* from this mosque. This is done in the following manner: The intending pilgrim goes to the mosque and puts on the *ihram*. He then says two *rakaats* of prayer and subsequently calling out *Labbaik* (here am I) repairs to the Kaaba of which he makes the circuit. After the circuit he prays two *rakaats* near the Standing-place of Abraham. The pilgrim then runs between Safa and Marwa after which men get themselves shaved and women have their hair cut.

The person performing the *Umra* may go on foot or use a conveyance. The general rule is

that as long as a person is within the sacred precincts he is not bound to wear the *ihram*. He must, however, put it on if, after leaving the holy precincts, he wishes to re-enter them and he may take it off again after he has gone through the prescribed ritual. The inhabitants of Mecca are forbidden to perform the *Umra* from the commencement of the month of Shawwal to the close of the Hajj.

Taim is really the name of the hill at the foot of which stands the Lady Ayesha's Mosque. Ayesha was ordered by the Prophet to commence the rites of the *Umra* from this spot and the practice is observed by most of the followers of the Sunni sect.

### Bir-i-Tuwa.

Outside the city of Mecca within the sacred precincts is a well called the Bir-i-Tuwa at which the Prophet bathed. Pilgrims therefore hold bathing here to be a source of blessing and a means of salvation.

Adjoining the Bir-i-Tuwa is a mosque called Zi-Tuwa where the Prophet passed a night after bathing at the well.

### MASJID-I-JEZRANA.

On the way to the desert of Hunain, 8 or 9 miles from Mecca, stands the Jezrana mosque. Sunnis frequently, and Shias and Shafis generally, begin the ritual of the *Umra* from this mosque. The *Umra* thus performed is called the Great Umra. It occupies three days, one for the journey each way and one for the sojourn at Mecca.

### JABAL-I-NUR.

Outside Mecca within the sacred precincts and on the way to Mina stands the Jabal-i-Nur (Mountain of Light). Pilgrims visit this place from Mecca. They either travel on foot or in a conveyance according to their means. On arriving at the foot of the mountain pilgrims have to leave their conveyances and ascend the hill-side on foot. The track leading up the mountain is uneven and as bad as mountain tracks usually are. It is moreover obstructed by brambles and thorns. The pathway up the mountain has no trace of water or vegetation and may be reckoned at nearly two miles in length.

### The Jabal-i-Nur Mosque.

On the Jabal-i-Nur is a mosque which pilgrims visit and where they pray.

### The Cave of Hira.

This cave is a hollow in the Jabal-i-Nur and is capped by a dome. The Prophet used to spend much of his time in prayer at this place. Pilgrims visit the dome saying prayers suited to the occasion. They then pray two *rakaats* of *nafl* (supererogation) and enter the cave. Here they pray and rest a while.

The architectural form of the dome resembles that which we see in India, *i.e.*, it consists of four archways surmounted by a domed roof. The shrine is kept fragrant with sweet scent.

### Place of the First Revelation.

This sacred spot is also situated on the Jabal-i-Nur. An uneven track, narrow in some places and broad in others, runs under the dome described above. Where it is narrow, one person can pass along it with difficulty. Having traversed this path, the pilgrim comes across a huge rock resting on three immense boulders. It has an

entrance on one side through which the pilgrim goes in, recites the prescribed orisons, and says two *rakaats* of prayer.

This is the place where the Surah *Ikra* was revealed.

### JABAL-I-SAUR.

This is a mountain outside the City and situated within the sacred precincts. The ascent is some six or eight miles in length. The mountain has a cave which is visited by Musalman pilgrims and the road up to it is very difficult, so much so that in some places one has to sit and in others to walk on all fours. After climbing this road, the pilgrim reaches a cave which is named *Ghar*. The mouth is very small, being only two or three cubits high and perhaps a span and a half wide. There is a path into it which has existed since the time of the Prophet. The exit at the back of the cave is sufficiently broad. The reason that pilgrimages are made to this cave is this. When the Prophet fled from Mecca, he concealed himself in the cave with Abu Bakr Siddik. After he had entered it, a pair of pigeons built their nest at its mouth and laid their eggs,

while a spider span its web over it. In the meantime the Meccans had visited the Prophet's house and, failing to find him there, sought eagerly for him. The tracker led Abu-Jahl and the other Kuraish idolators to the mouth of the cave. Thinking that, if any one had gone in, the nest and the web could not possibly be intact, they concluded that it must be empty and went back. When the Prophet was about to enter the cave, Abu Bakr went in and cleaned it. The Prophet then followed and resting his head on Abu Bakr's lap fell asleep. Abu Bakr tore his shirt to pieces and stuffed every hole and cranny in the rock with the shreds to prevent any poisonous animal from coming and disturbing the Prophet's rest. One small crevice remained unclosed and against this Abu Bakr placed the big toe of his right foot. It happened by chance that a snake which lived in this hole bit his toe. Fearful, however, lest any movement on his part should disturb the Prophet's repose, Abu Bakr did not move the toe from the hole ; but the strength of the poison and pain of the wound were so great that his tears fell on the sacred cheek of the Prophet, who opened his eyes and, learning what had happened, applied

his saliva to the wound. This relieved the pain, healed the wound, and counteracted the ill-effects of the poison at the time. Tradition, however, says that at the time of Abu Bakr's death the poison which had lain dormant in his system revived so that he obtained the glory of martyrdom. The Prophet remained hidden in this cave for three days and on the fourth day, which was the first of Muharram, he left for Medina. The Hijra era commences from this date. The pilgrimage to the cave is undertaken because the Prophet passed three days in it and his sacred body touched its rocky sides. Pilgrims spend their time here in prayers and supplication.

### Jannat-ul-Mualla.

(*The Lofty Paradise.*)

This is a cemetery in which the inhabitants of Mecca as well as those pilgrims who happen to die in Mecca are buried. The cemetery contains the graves of many famous persons. The following may be noted as the most noteworthy :—

1. The grave of Amina, the mother of the Prophet.

2. The grave of the mother of the Faithful, Khadijat-ul-Kubra, the wife of the Prophet and the mother of Fatima.

3. The grave of Abd-ur-Rahman, the son of Abu Bakr.

4. The grave of the grandfather of the Saint Aidrus whose tomb has been described in the account of Aden.

5. The grave of Saint Ibn Alwan.

6. The grave of Saint Umar Arabi.

There are many other tombs of lesser note, at which visitors pray.

### Makan-i-Sha'b-un-Nur.

(*Place of the Valley of Light.*)

The Jannat-ul-Mualla is a broad plain, surrounded by a chain of hills. In the plain lies a plot of land known as the "Makan-i-Sha'b-un-Nur" which is said by tradition to contain the bodies of seventy thousand saints who will rise from their graves on the day of judgment. Many ignorant pilgrims dig graves here in the belief that wherever they may die, their spirits will find them.

It was in this plain that the Prophet with his army of the Faithful encamped at the time

of the conquest of Mecca, and it was here that he made the necessary military dispositions. The following are the principal graves in this place:—

1. The grave of Shaikh Farid-ul-Gharib.
2. The grave of Shaikh Abd-ul-Wahab the Great.
3. The grave of Shaikh Abd-ul-Wahab the Less.

These graves are visited by pilgrims who pray at them.

## Masjid-i-Jinn and Masjid-i-Shajra.

Outside Mecca there is a mosque known as the Masjid-i-Jinn. The Jinns are said to have embraced Islam at this place and it was here that the chapter of the Kuran known as "The Jinns" was revealed. Here too is another celebrated mosque, called the Masjid of the Tree. Both these mosques are visited by Musalmans who hold them in great veneration.

## The Shaibi's Ward.

Adjoining the habitations surrounding the House of God stands Mount Abu Kubais. At

the foot of this mountain lies the house of the Shaibi Sahib who keeps the key of the holy Kaaba. The pathway leading up to the mountain is inhabited by Beduins and is about a mile long. From the summit a very clear view is obtained of the holy Kaaba, the path of circuit, and the grounds of the sacred precincts, so much so that the figures of those making the circuit of the Kaaba can be plainly recognised.

Mount Abu Kubais is the traditional site of the miracle known as *Shakk-ul-Kamr* (splitting of the moon), and it was here that the chapter known as "The Moon" was revealed.

### Bilal's Mosque.

Upon Mount Abu Kubais stands a mosque named after Bilal, the Abyssinian Muazzin (Crier) of the Prophet. The pilgrim visiting this mosque prays two *Rakaats* in it by way of a devotional offering.

### The Place of Saint Sanusi.

Upon Mount Abu Kubais stands also a house which takes its name from Sanusi, who was one of the holy Saints.

### Thukak-ul-wasta.

(*Central Lane.*)

This is the site of a monument in which rest the ashes of the great Shaikh Taj-ud-din.

### The City of Mecca.

*The Mosque of Hasn.*

On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet set up his ensign on a house, and to commemorate this incident the mosque of Hasn was built at the spot. This mosque is an object of pilgrimage.

### Sha'ab-i-Amir.

(*Amir's date.*)

The dwelling place and the grave of Sayyad Ali Badri are both here; and by the road of the *Umra* pilgrimage is another grave said to be that of Shaikh Mahmud bin Ibrahim-i-Adham. The grave of Abdullah, the son of Umar, also lies in the same path and with it are the graves of other martyrs. Pilgrims visit all these.

### Jabal-i-Hindi.

(*Mount Hindi.*)

This place is noted for the grave of the Sahib-ul-Jauhari.

### Fort of Mecca.

Under the walls of this fort lies the grave of the Saint Shaikh Abu Said.

### Safa Marwah.

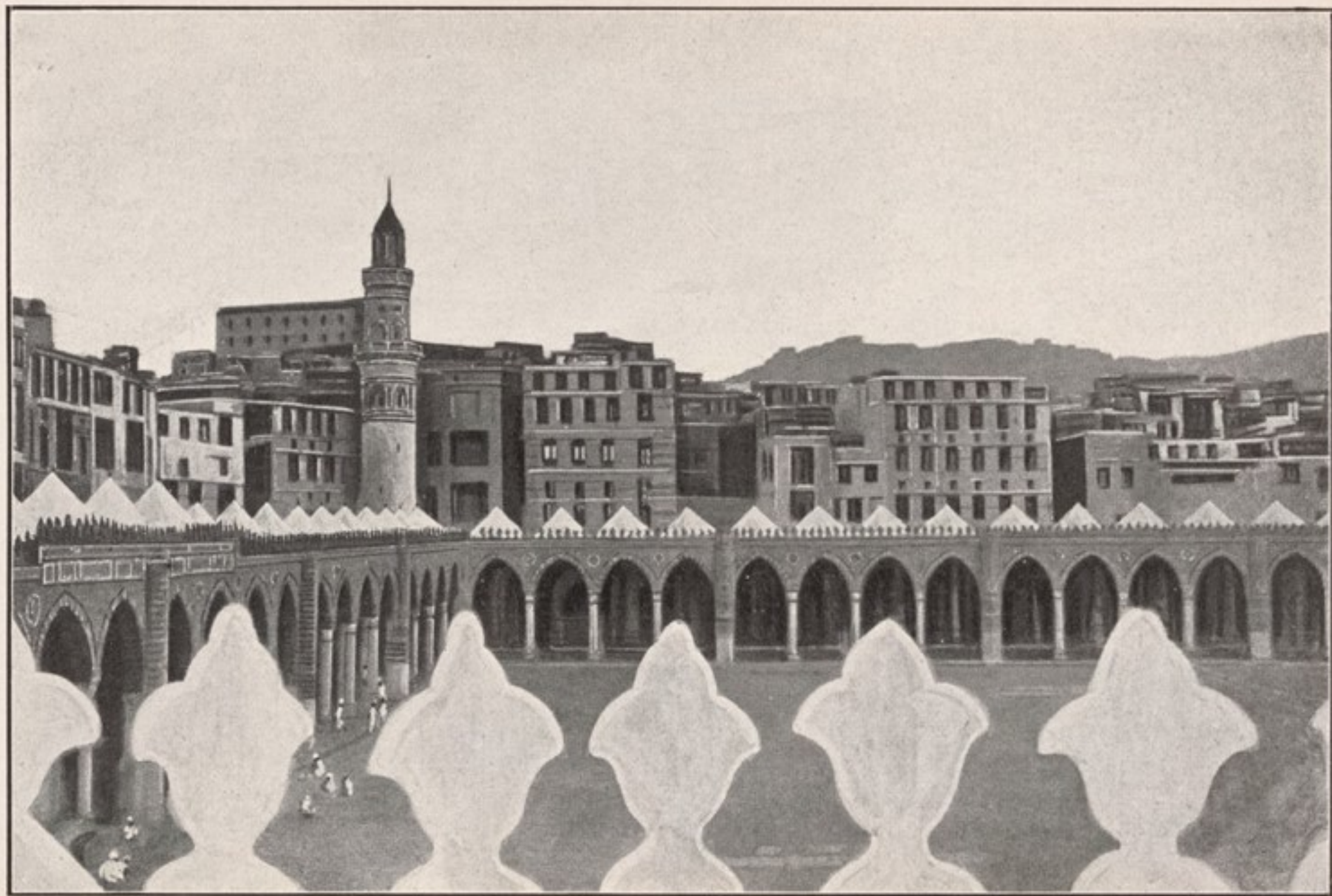
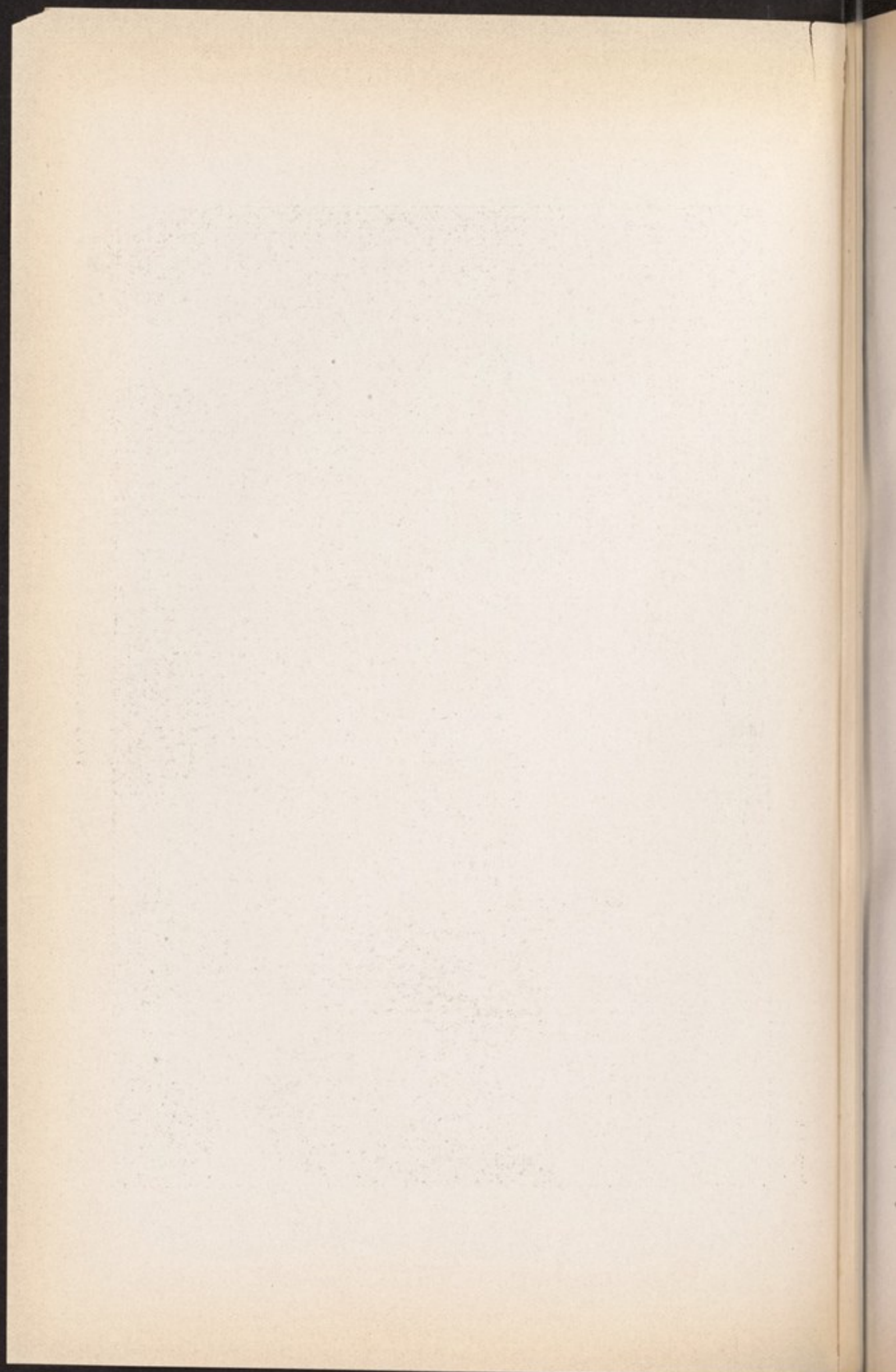
This was the dwelling place of Umar the Great, the second Khalifa. Here he lived and was converted to Islam. It is visited by pilgrims.

### Sukak-ul-Maaziah.

(The little lane; the inn of Uthman, the 3rd Khalifa.)

There is a travellers' rest here known as the Inn of Uthman. A Ber tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*) stands in the court-yard, the leaves of which are said to possess the power of curing fever if they are burnt and the smoke is inhaled by the patient.

### Tongue of Stone.

Here a piece of stone sticks out from the rock regarding which the following tradition exists:—Once while the Prophet (on whose ashes descend the choicest peace!) was on his way towards the Kaaba to join the service of prayer Satan appeared before him in human form and

FORT OF MECCA.

tried to deceive him by saying that as the service was already over he need not go on to the Kaaba. As he said this a tongue came out of the rock and cried to him "This is Satan the accursed who desireth to deceive thee. Prayer has not yet begun. Go thou on." Accordingly the Prophet hastened to the House of God where he found the assembled congregation waiting for him. This is a holy place.

### Thukak-ul-Hajar.

(*Stone Lane.*)

The house of the blessed Lady Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, is situated here and next to stands the house of her mother Khadijat-ul-Kubra, the mother of the Faithful. Adjoining this house is a cell containing a diminutive cistern. The Prophet used to perform his ablutions in this cistern and pray in the cell. And it was from this cell that he went to the Kaaba on his way to the highest heaven. The cell is known as the Ibadat Khana (Place of devotion), and close to it stands the abode of Abu Bakr Siddik, the first Khalifa.

### Rukuma.

This is the site of the graves of two holy persons, both of them named Abbas.

### Suk-ul-Lail.

This is the place where the Prophet was born.

### Jabal-Umar.

This is a hill on which stands a mosque built by Umar the Great, the second Khalifa.

### Jayyad.

Here is the house of Shaikh Abu Haddad.

### Shabika.

The grave of the Saint Mahjub is situated here.

### The Sharif's Ward.

Adjoining the house of the Sharif of Mecca is the grave of Shaikh Uthman Haruni.

### Minkala.

This is the birthplace of Abu Bakr, the first Khalifa, and of the Prince of Martyrs Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet. The mosque of Halima, the Prophet's nurse, is also situated here.

### Shaikh Abd-ul-Kadir Jilani's house.

In the city of Mecca is situated the house of Ghaus-ul-Azam, Mahbub-i-Subhani, Shaikh Abd-ul-Kadir Jilani (on whom descend the divine blessings!).

### Shaab-i-ali.

### (*Ali's date.*)

Adjoining the Suk-ul-Lail is the date-palm of Ali, son of Abu Talib, the fourth Khalifa, where the Khalifa Ali was born.

### Dar-i-Arkam.

### (*House of Arkam.*)

This house is situated on the hill of Safa. When persecuted by the Kuraish idolators, the Prophet found shelter here for a few days.

### Raviat-uz-Zikk bil-Safa.

This is a well-known locality.

### Masjid-ur-Raabi.

This is a mosque situated at the extreme end of the principal bazar of Mecca.

### Sayyad.

There is a mosque here of this name.

### Jasrul.

This is the site of the grave of Sayyaduna Shaikh Mahmud.

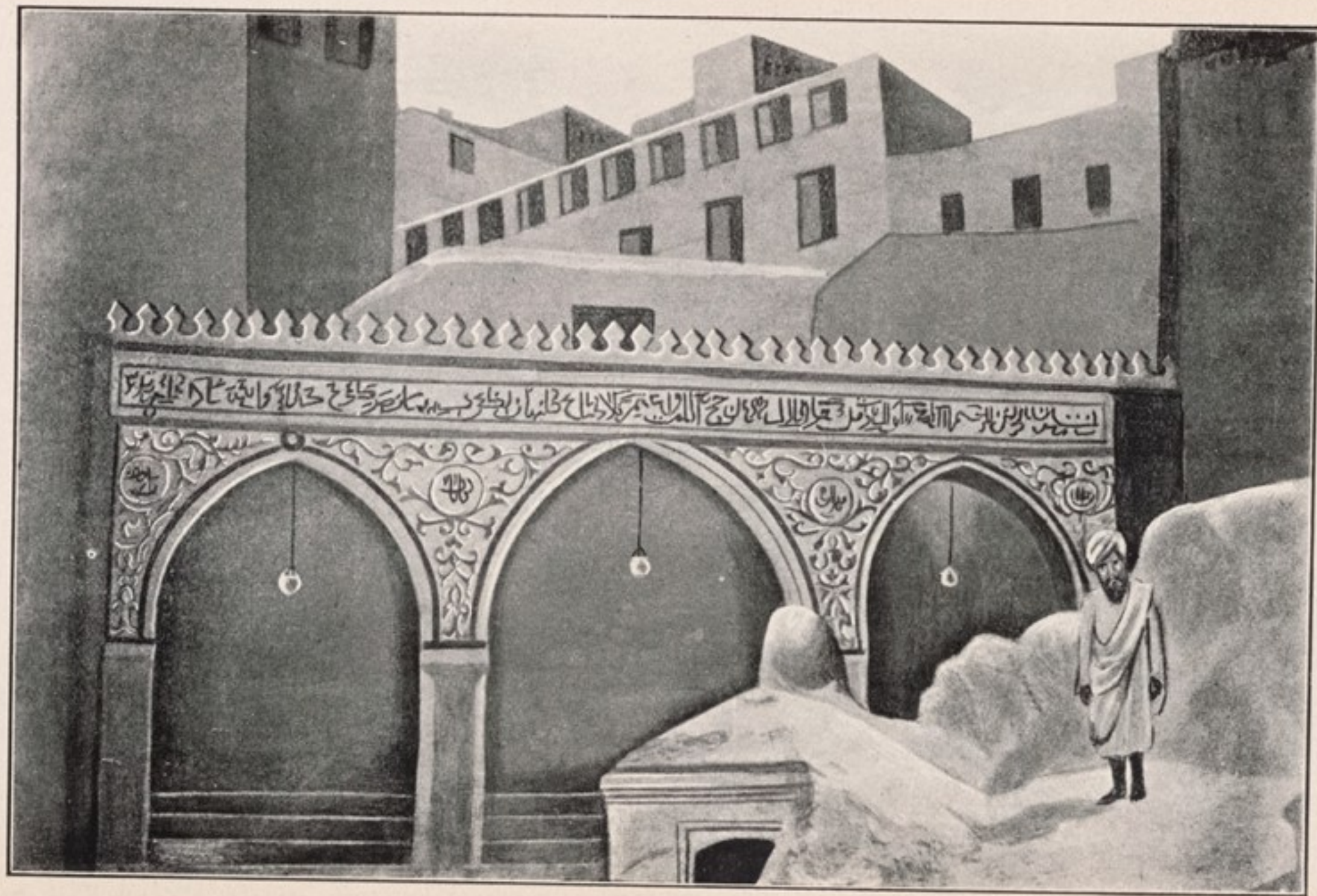
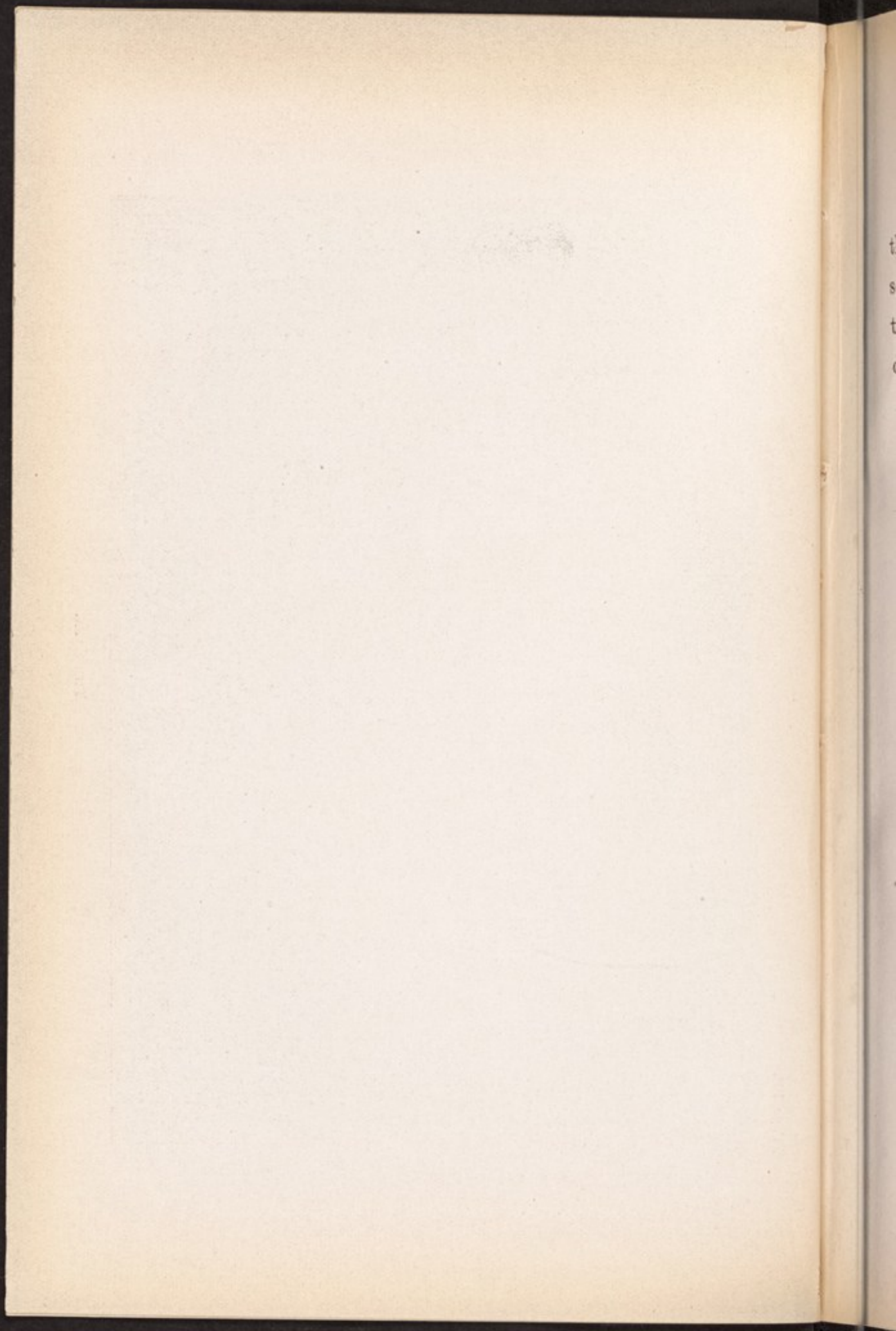
### Suk-ul-Mualla.

*(The Chief Market.)*

Here are the Masjid-ul-Rabiya and other places of pilgrimage.

### Safa and Marwa.

Close to a corner of the Kaaba is an eminence called Safa. On the top of it stands a roofless quadrangle, each side of which is pierced by three archways, and exactly opposite this at a distance of about 255 paces, there is another eminence. On this also there is a building called Marwa. The run from Safa to Marwa is called *Sai* (course). This run, which forms one of the rites of the pilgrimage, is repeated seven times, that is the pilgrim has to go seven times backwards and forwards between the two places, reciting the whole time suitable hymns and verses from the Kuran. Between Safa and Marwa is a stretch of ground called Milain, across which men run and women walk at their usual pace.

Page 104.

The Safa.

Tradition says that under divine dispensation, the Prophet Abraham left Hagar with his little son Ishmael at the spot which is now marked by the well of Zamzam. (The incident has been fully described in Book I in connection with the account of the construction of the holy Kaaba.) Hagar placed her infant son on the spot and while searching for water covered the distance between Safa and Marwa seven times forwards and backwards. In her strong desire to protect the infant and to obtain water, she descended slowly from the heights from which Ishmael could be seen, ran across the Milain, and slowly ascended the rising ground in front of her, so that she could keep the child in view. For this reason the law of Islam has included the practice of the run in the rites of pilgrimage and has made its observance obligatory upon all pilgrims.

### Doorways of the Sacred Precincts.

The Sacred Precincts are furnished with 24 doorways thus :—

1. Bab-ul-Islam : with 3 arches side by side.
2. Bab-uz-Ziadah : 3 arches.
3. Bab-i-Ali : 3 arches.

4. Bab-ul-Abbas: 3 arches.
5. Bab-ul-Wurud: 2 arches.
6. Bab-i-Umm-i-Hani: 2 arches.
7. Bab-i-Sharif: 2 arches.
8. Bab-i-Mujahid: 2 arches.
9. Bab-i-Safa: 2 arches.
10. Bab-i-Jihad: 2 arches.
11. Bab-ul-Baghla: 2 arches.
12. Bab-un-Aufus: 2 arches.
13. Bab-un-Nabi: 2 arches.
14. Bab-i-Dariba: 1 arch.
15. Bab-i-Sulaimani: 1 arch.
16. Bab-ul-Mahkama: 1 arch.
17. Bab-ul-Kutaibi: 1 arch.
18. Bab-ul-Wasta: 1 arch.
19. Bab-ul-Akik: 1 arch.
20. Bab-ul-Umra: 1 arch.

Pilgrims performing the *Umra* enter the Sacred Precincts through this doorway to make the circuit of the Kaaba.

21. Bab-ul-Widaa: 1 arch.

When leaving Mecca, pilgrims enter and leave the Sacred Precincts through this doorway, performing the circuit of farewell.

22. Bab-ul-Akil: 1 arch.

23. Bab-i-Ibrahim : 1 arch.
24. Bab-uz-Zamania : 1 arch.

### ZAMZAM.

This is a well situated within the Sacred Precincts. It adjoins the Kaaba and is the spring which was created for Ishmael. It has been described in Book I in connection with the building of the Kaaba. The water of Zamzam is held in great esteem. Pilgrims bathe at this well, and then put on the *ihram* and begin their pilgrimage. They also bathe here when they enter the Kaaba. The Zamzamis (those who dispense the holy water) offer it as a drink to the pilgrims who use it for partial ablution, and on their homeward journey carry it in water-bags and jars to their homes where they distribute it. Those who are healthy drink it on account of its sacred origin and those who are sick in order to gain health. People also soak in Zamzam water a piece of linen which they put away to serve as a shroud. It is laid down that this water shall be drunk in a standing posture. After it has been drunk any boon may be asked for in the belief that it will be granted. Most people break their fast with

it. Well-to-do pilgrims set up sheds to distribute the water at Arafat, Muzdalifa, Mina, and on the Umra route. The water is generally given to the dying to drink, and the rich have their dead washed in it. In short the water of *Zamzam* is pre-eminently blessed and is used for all holy purposes.

The supply of *Zamzam* never varies and however much may be used, it never decreases in quantity. The inhabitants of Mecca say, that Zamzam overflows at certain specified dates. This water is always holy, but has a special sanctity on the following dates:—

1. The night of the 15th of Shaban.
2. The night of the 21st of Ramazan.
3. The night of the 23rd of Ramazan.
4. The night of the 25th of Ramazan.
5. The night of the 27th of Ramazan.
6. The 1st of Shawwal.
7. The 7th of Shawwal.
8. The 10th of Muharrum.

### Hajar-i-Ibrahim.

(*The Stone of Abraham.*)

This is the stone on which the patriarch Abraham stood while building the Kaaba. (Mention

MUSALLA HANAFI.

has been made of it in Book I in connection with the construction of the Kaaba.) The stone bears two foot-prints looking exactly as if the two feet had sunk in soft earth, or as if two oval stone mortars had been placed side by side. Pilgrims fill these cavities with Zamzam water, drink some of it, and carry the rest with them to their homes.

Close to the Hajar-i-Ibrahim stands a small bungalow-shaped building called Makam-i-Ibrahim (Abraham's Standing-place). Pilgrims enter it on one side and pass out on the other. After the circuit has been made the pilgrim says two *Rakaats* of prayer in this building and engages in devotion and supplication.

### Makam-i-Musalla Hanafi.

(*The Hanifites' place of prayer.*)

Inside the Haram is a *Musalla* (place of prayer) surmounted by two brass spires where the Imam of the Hanifis prays with those of his sect. The majority of the inhabitants of India and Turkistan are Hanifis.

### Makam-i-Musalla Shafai.

(*The Shafaites' place of prayer.*)

This *Musalla*, which stands close to the well of Zamzam, has a single brass spire. It is set apart for the worship of the Shafaites, the sect to which most Arabs belong.

### Makam-i-Musalla Maliki.

(*The Malikites' place of prayer.*)

At this *Musalla*, which has one brass spire, the Imam of the Malikis stands to pray. The people of the Western countries are for the most parts Malikis.

### Makam-i-Musalla Hambali.

(*The Hambalis' place of prayer.*)

The Hambalis' *Musalla* has one brass spire. Most Arabs are followers of the Hambali school. The four *Musallas* above belong to the Sunnis; the Shiahs and the Kharijis have no concern with them.

### The Holy Pulpit.

From this pulpit, which stands in the Kaaba, the *Khutba* is recited every Friday and on the two *Ids*.

### THE DOME OF THE LIBRARY.

This library, which is an endowment, contains a large collection of books connected with the Kaaba. In it is one named the "Tarikh-i-Khamis." The whole story of the building of the Kaaba is told in it in such detail that there is a separate account of every stone and every place.

### THE CLOCK DOME.

This part of the Haram contains a large number of clocks. The dome is surmounted by a copper spire.

### THE PILLAR OF EIGHT METALS.

This pillar stands in a corner of the sacred precincts near the path of circuit and marks a spot where Shaik Abd-ul-Kadir Jilani of Baghdad, when staying in Mecca, is said to have stood for a long time in prayer.

The houses of the Kazi and the Pasha of the sacred precincts are each decorated with two copper steeples. Around the sacred precincts are 152 cupolas of brass and other metals and on the Jinn's minaret are seven brass spires

MATAF (THE PATH OF CIRCUIT).

This is the place where the circuit of the Kaaba is made, according to the following rule. The pilgrim starts from the Black stone (See Book I, description of the construction of the Kaaba) which is covered with gold and stands fixed in a corner of the Kaaba. During the circuit it is obligatory to recite continuously verses from the Kuran and the prescribed prayers. When, after completing the circuit, the pilgrim arrives in front of the Black stone, he calls out "Bismillah, Allahu Akbar" (In the name of God, God is Great), and kisses the stone. Seven similar circuits of the House of God are made. These are called a *Tawaf* (circumambulation). One *Tawaf* consists of seven *shuts*, each *shut* being equivalent to a *chakar* or circuit.

In the first three circuits the men walk stiff and upright with the chest well thrown out, in the last four they walk as usual. Females walk in the seven circuits at their customary pace.

The *Tawaf* is of various kinds, each kind having a separate name.

I. The *Tawaf* performed after entering Mecca is the *Tawaf-i-Sunnat* (practised by, or customary

with the prophet). This *Tawaf* is also called the *Tawaf-ul-Kadum*, the *Tawaf-ul-Wurud*, or the *Tawaf-ul-Warid.*

II. The *Tawaf* performed after the pilgrimage is *farz* (obligatory and one of the essentials of the Hajj). Without its performance the Hajj is impossible. This *Tawaf* is made when the pilgrim returns from Arafat after having gone through the ceremonies of the Hajj. It is called *Tawaf-uz-Ziarat*, the *Tawaf-ud-Din*, the *Tawaf-i-Ifaza*, the *Tawaf-ul-Hajj*, the *Tawaf-ul-Farz*, or the *Tawaf-i-Yaum-un-Nahr.*

III. The farewell *Tawaf* is performed at the time of leaving Mecca. This is called the *Tawaf-us-Sadr*, the *Tawaf-ul-Widaa*, or the *Tawaf-uz-Rujua.* The rule is that the pilgrim after this *Tawaf* drinks the water of Zamzam, kisses the portal of the House of God, and walks backward up to the path of circumambulation, keeping his gaze fixed throughout on the House of God. He then takes his departure. This *Tawaf* is *wajib* (a duty*).

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* The difference between *farz* (obligatory or essentially necessary) and *wajib* (a duty) is that, whereas no infraction of the former can be expiated by atonement, the latter may be expiated by sacrifices, &c.

IV. The *Tawaf-i-Umra* (circumambulation of Umra) is essential, that is, it is obligatory upon a pilgrim who performs the *Umra* to make this *Tawaf*.

V. The *Tawaf-un-Nazr* (circumambulation of vows) is performed by persons who, having made a vow, have had their wish granted.

VI. Should none of the circumambulations above enumerated be due, the *Tawaf-ut-Tahayya* may be performed.

VII. The *Tawaf-un-Nafl* (circumambulation of supererogation) differs from the six *Tawafs* above described, in that no particular time or occasion is prescribed for it. A person is at liberty to perform it whenever he wishes to do so, but, when once it is undertaken, its completion becomes binding, although its omission can be expiated. Those performing this *Tawaf* may make one, two, or four circuits after each prayer according to their strength and may thus accomplish it. There is nothing wrong in chewing cinnamon, betel leaf, or *gutka** while making this circumambulation.

* *Gutka* is an alimentary preparation which is a speciality of Bhopal. It is composed of nutmeg, mace, pistachios, catechu, cloves, cinnamon, betel nut, and sundry other spices, and is chewed as a substitute for betel.

Men as well as women of advanced years as a rule pray five times in the Kaaba. Young women generally join in the morning, evening, and night prayers. This is done only for the sake of *parda*; otherwise women have, like men, general permission to attend the five-fold service of prayer.

The infirm and the sick, if unable to be present at the Kaaba, may pray in a neighbouring mosque or at their own houses. Even for young men there is no ordinance positively requiring them to attend the Kaaba at all the five daily services.

By placing the brow against the portal of the Kaaba prayer is rendered efficacious. It is customary for a visitor to the holy shrine at the time of dawn to touch the *Rukn-i-Yamani* (a stone fixed in the south-east corner of the Kaaba) with his or her hand and then to kiss the hand.

## Hatim.

Hatim is the name of the space on the inner side of the oval pavement surrounding the Kaaba. The space is enclosed by a quadrangle of alabaster. Pilgrims pray two supererogatory *Rakaats* here after performing the ceremony of circumambulation and put on the *ihram*.

## Mizab-i-Rahmat.

(*The Drain of Mercy.*)

At the top of the Kaaba there is a golden gutter. The main water collected on the roof of the House of God falls through this gutter upon the Hatim. Pilgrims bathe in it, drink it, and keep it as a sacred memento.

## The Ancient Doorway of the Kaaba.

At this doorway, which is closed, the pilgrims pray two supererogatory *Rakaats* after going through the rite of circumambulation.

## Gabriel's Door.

This door marks the spot at which the Archangel Gabriel taught the prophet the rules of prayer. Tradition differs as to the exact locality where the prophet received this instruction. It was at one of two places, either an oblong cistern in which one man can pray, or a space close to it forming part of the pavement surrounding the Kaaba and known as the path of circumambulation.

Across the oval pavement surrounding the Kaaba is a spot where the prophet was in the

habit of praying. Once while he was bowing down, his uncle Abu-Jahl placed the entrails of a camel upon his back. People pray two supererogatory *Rakaats* on this spot.

### The Holy House of God.

The term *dakhili* denotes the ceremony of entering the Kaaba. It is performed in the following manner: After bathing and washing in their own houses people go to the sacred precincts where in the cells of the Zamzamis (dispensers of Zamzam water), vessels are provided for complete and partial ablutions (*ghusl and wazu*). After the men have washed themselves in Zamzam and changed their clothes, and the women have done the same in apartments provided for the purpose, they come out, enter the Kaaba and, facing the entrance, pray two supererogatory *Rakaats*. After praying for any specific boon they again recite two *Rakaats* turning to each of the four corners of the holy shrine. Suitable hymns and verses from the Kuran are recited by the devotees all the time that they are inside the Kaaba. They touch their eyes with the covering of the Kaaba and present the Shaibi Shaib (keeper of the key of

the Kaaba), with offerings in proportion to their means.

*Dakhili* takes place at varying periods. There are no limitations as to its occurring before or after the Hajj. The dates on which the Kaaba is entered are, however, fixed, and may be understood from the following list:—

| No. | Month. | Date. | Time. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Muharram | 10th | 6 A.M. to 10 A.A. | Men enter on the 10th and women on the 11th. |
| 2. | Rabi-ul-Awwal ... | 12th | Do. | Men enter on the 12th and women on the 13th. |
| 3. | Rajab ... | ...... | Do. | Men enter on the 1st Friday in Rajab and women on the following Saturday. |
| 4. | Rajab ... | 27th | Do. | Men enter on the 27th and women on the 28th. |
| 5. | Shaaban ... | 15th | Do. | Men enter on the 15th and women on the 16th. |
| 6. | Ramazan ... | ...... | Do. | Men enter on the 1st Friday of Ramazan and women on the following Saturday. |
| 7. | Ramazan ... | 27th | Do. | Men enter on the 27th and women on the 28th. |
| 8. | Zikaad ... | 15th | Do. | Men enter on the 15th and women on the 16th. |

## Washing the Kaaba.

The Kaaba is washed three times a year, thus: The Kaaba proper on the 21st of Rabi-ul-Awwal and the 20th of Zikaad; The Kaaba, its court-

yard, and the Sacred Precincts on the 10th of Maharram.

The ceremony of washing the Kaaba is performed in the following manner : The Sharif of Mecca and the Turkish Pasha representing the Sultan in the holy city wrap a shawl round their nether limbs and, accompanied by the Shaibi Sahib, who is the keeper of the key of the House of God, and a number of eunuchs enter the Kaaba. The first with their own hands wash the walls, the roof, the floor, and the pillars of the building twice with water, and the third time with rose-water. After this washing, the walls and floor of the Kaaba are anointed with sandal and perfumes, and incense is burnt. The water with which the Kaaba has been washed is prized by visitors to the holy shrine, poured into flasks, and taken home as a sacred gift for their relations and friends. The small brooms which are used in cleaning the inner door, walls, roof, and floor are also carried away as blessed relics. Two washings take place in this way. At the third washing, the courtyard and all the outer halls of the Kaaba are also rinsed and scoured, a detachment of Turkish troops being employed for this purpose. No one

takes away the water with which the wall of the Mataf (the stone pavement of circumambulation surrounding the Kaaba) is washed.

The washing of the Kaaba is not a religious ordinance. As hundreds of thousands of persons visit the interior of the building, it is expedient to wash it as a matter of cleanliness.

Once a year the ceremony of the investiture of the Kaaba is performed in the following manner: On the 25th *Zikaada* the covering of the Kaaba, which has been hanging down to the floor, is raised to the height of a man and white long-cloth is wrapped round the part thus exposed. This is done to prevent the covering from being soiled or torn by the constant touching of the enormous number of pilgrims. It is not a religious duty, but is merely a means of protecting the covering.

The covering of the Kaaba which is changed once a year comes annually from Constantinople on a camel in a *mahmil* in charge of the Syrian Caravan. The caravan goes first to Arafat and, after performing the ritual of the Hajj, repairs to the Kaaba, when the *mahmil* is placed in the Syrian courtyard. The old covering is then taken

off and the new one put on. Of the old covering, the embroidered curtain hanging against the entrance of the Kaaba and the "Waist band" in which the names of the Turkish Sovereigns are woven become the property of the Sharif of Mecca. The residue is equally distributed between the Shaibi Sahib, the eunuchs, and the servants of the Kaaba.

Underneath the outer covering of the Kaaba there is another inner covering. This is changed only on the accession of a new Sultan. The establishment of the Sacred Precincts consists of about 260 men.

The Sacred Precincts have 24 doorways, 12 domes, and 172 steeples. The Turkish budget includes a provision of Rs. 30,00,000 a year for the annual expenses of the Kaaba, besides the pay of the establishment.

### The Tomb of Mahdi Abu Yamani.

This monument which is largely visited by pilgrims stands on the way to Mina.

### Masjid-ul-Ashr.

This mosque is also situated on the way to Mina. The *Ansar* (Helpers) did homage to the

prophet in it, and it was here that the passage of the Kuran relating to the "handgrasp of fealty" was revealed.

### Masjid-i-Hanif.

This is a magnificent mosque erected on a spot where the prophet once pitched his tent. Obligatory prayers are performed here by pilgrims.

### Ishmael's Altar.

This is situated in Mina.

### Masjid-ul-Akim.

This mosque is also in Mina close to the Altar of Ishmael.

### Mina.

This is a very extensive and awe-inspiring plain surrounded by a chain of hills and is the breeding place of many venomous reptiles. Even the small scorpions are like large crabs and nearly as big. The inhabitants say that the sting of these scorpions is fatal to a man, and the ignorant believe that the Jinns live in the hills.

### JAMRAT.

There is a place in Mina where three pillars have been built close to one another. These are known as the Jamrat (devils). Of these one is called the first Jamrah, another the middle Jamrah, and the third the last Jamrah. Pilgrims are required to pick up pebbles from a particular flat spot and cast seven pebbles at each devil every day for three days. This rite is one of the duties of the Hajj.

### THE CAVE AT MINA.

In the hills of Mina there is a roomy cave at the mouth of which is a structure in which the prophet used to pray. It was here that the Chapter of the Kuran entitled *Mursilat* was revealed. A mosque has been built in connection with it.

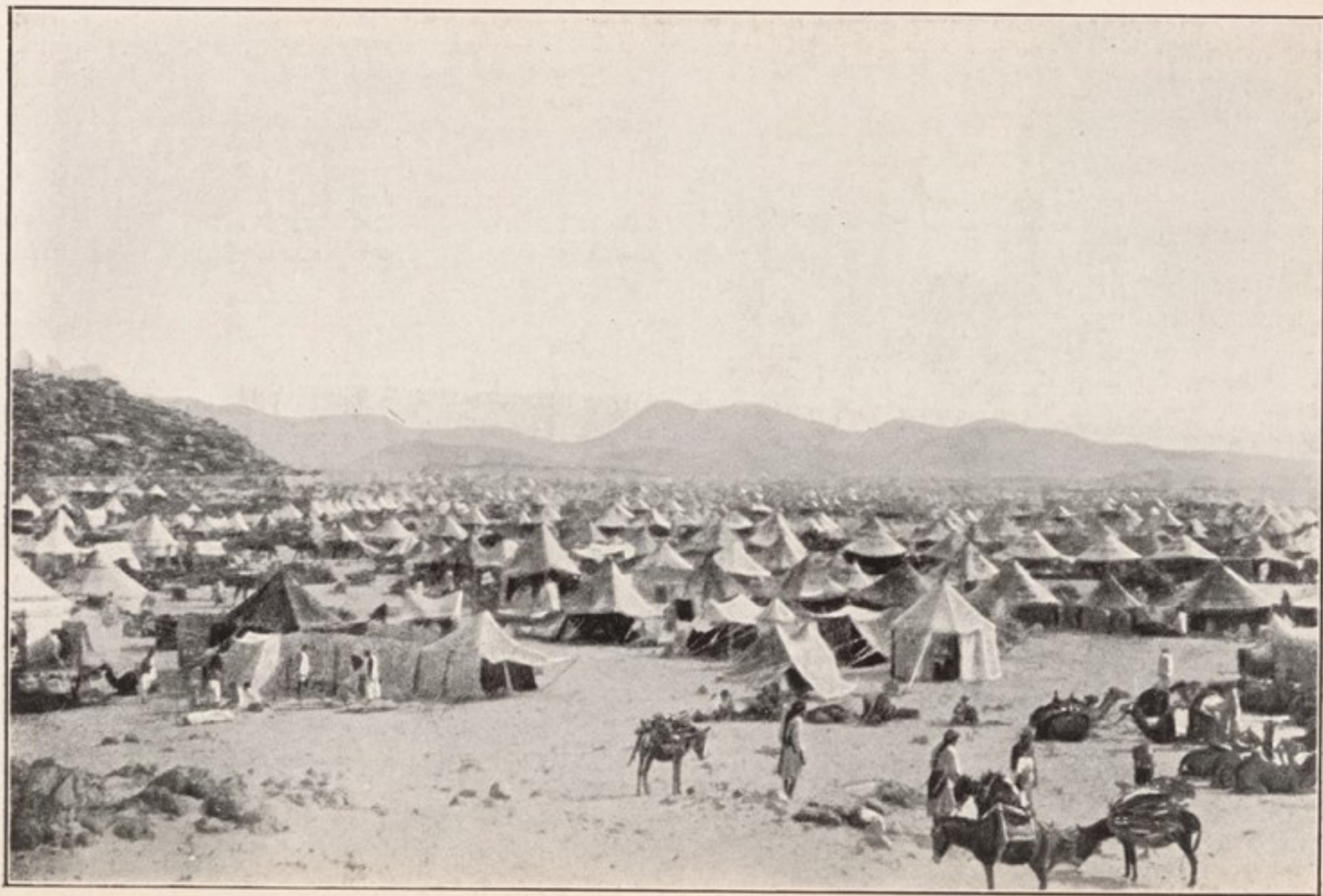
There are two more mosques connected with the place. In one of these the Chapter entitled *Kauthar* was revealed. The other, known as the *Masjid-ul-Kaish*, is built on the spot where the prophet offered a sacrifice.

### ARAFAT.

Arafat is a very high mountain at the foot of which lies an unbroken and extensive plain where

the Hajj is performed. Round the plain are a number of hills big and little, and in the centre of it there is a moderate-sized hill known as the Jibl Rahmat (Hill of Mercy). From the top of it the preacher reads the *Khutba*. Pilgrims climb the hill, but they camp in the open plain of Arafat which surrounds it on all sides. One place in this plain is known as *Irna* or the Valley of the Devil, and in it pilgrims are forbidden to stay. The rest of the plain of Arafat is free to them. For persons who remain in Arafat from daybreak till sundown it is lawful to go out and to sit down to answer the calls of nature. After attending to his bodily wants the pilgrim performs partial ablution (*Wazu*), and engages in prayers and devotion.

It is obligatory for every man and woman to put on the *ihram* and appear in Arafat on the 9th Zil-Hijj. Even the customary excuse of women does not exempt them from wearing the *ihram* and attending at Arafat, for the ritual is one of the requisites of the Hajj and its non-fulfilment nullifies the pilgrimage.

There is a natural spring at Arafat, the water of which is poured into an artificial reservoir at

Mount Arafat.

the Jibl Rahmat to supply water to the pilgrims. Tradition says that the aqueduct which joins the spring and the reservoir was constructed by a Turkish Princess named Zaafran. There are two mosques in Arafat. One of them is called the Masjid-i-Namira; the other is situated on the right side of the Maukaf and on the 9th of Zil-Hijj a combined *Zuhar* and *Asr* service is performed in it.

### Muzdalifa.

This is a plain in which stands a mosque called Mashaar-ul-Haram. On the way back from Arafat, pilgrims perform the *Isha* or night service and pass the night here. A portion of this plain, called the Wadi-ul-Mahshar (Valley of the Day of Judgment) is forbidden ground, with this exception pilgrims can stay wherever they choose.

In Muzdalifa there is a small hill adjoining Mount Farah. The Masjid-i-Mashaar-ul-Haram is close to this hill. On his way from Mecca the Imam stops here. After performing the morning service pilgrims proceed to Mina having first picked up from the plain of Muzdalifa pebbles with which to pelt the devils. On the 10th of

Zil-Hijj the pilgrims arrive at Mina and cast at the devils seven of these stones. They then put off the *ihram* and after going through the rites of the sacrifice and the tonsure they return to the Kaaba. Here they perform the Tawaf-uz-Ziarat (circuit of pilgrimage) and, after running between the Safa and Marwa, go back to Mina. On the morning of the 11th, they again cast stones at the devils and stay at Mina. On the morning of the 12th the ceremony of casting stones at the devils is repeated a third time, after which the pilgrims return to the Kaaba.

### The Ritual of the Hajj.

Although the various rites comprising the pilgrimage have already been described in connection with the accounts given of the different places, still a complete list of their number and order may be convenient for the readers of my book. I accordingly enumerate them thus:

1. *Ihram* or putting on the sacred robe from the Mikat or fixed limit.

2. Going to Mecca and performing the Tawaf-ul-Kudum.

3. Running between Mounts Safa and Marwa.

4. Going to Mina on the 8th of Zil-Hijj.

5. Passing the day of the 9th of Zil-Hijj at Arafat.

6. Leaving Arafat in the evening for Muzdalifa and passing the night there.

7. Returning to Mina on the 10th of Zil-Hijj and casting stones at the devils.

8. Offering sacrifice.

9. Tonsure of the head or cropping of the hair.

10. Proceeding to the Kaaba and performing the circuit called Tawaf-uz-Ziarat.

11. Returning to Mina, staying there two or three days, and casting stones at the devils.

Of the above rites some are *rukn* (essentially necessary), some *wajib* (requisite), and the rest *sunnat* (the practice of the prophet which may be departed from without actual sin). All agree that Nos. 1, 5 and 10 are essentially necessary. If these rites are not performed there is no Hajj. Running between Mounts Safa and Marwa, the tonsure of the head or cropping of the hair, casting stones at the devils, passing the night at Muzdalifa for prayer and sojourning at Mina during the prescribed days of Tashrik are *wajiba*

(things requisite) and should be performed in their due order. The rest of the rites are either *sunnat* or *kaffara* (atonable), and are fully described in Islamic works on ritual.

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## BOOK II.

## VOYAGE TO THE HIJAZ.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### PREPARATION FOR JOURNEY AND PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS.

THE question who should carry on the administration of the State until my return was of importance in regard to the arrangements for my journey. The administration of the State, the questions which come up for decision, the care and precision which have constantly to be kept in view in the settlement of affairs are matters which those alone understand upon whom the burden falls. Some one has truly said :—

> "Not every one can bear a Kingdom's weight
> "Uneasy lies the head that rules a State."

I could not without hesitation trust any one to sympathize with my people as I do, and to manifest the interest in the business of the State that I feel. After much thought it seemed to me that those could best fulfil the task, who by reason of hereditary connection with the State had a

special interest in it and who would regard its prosperity or adversity as their own. I accordingly bestowed my confidence on my two sons who are well educated and whose regard for the State is hereditary. I selected my second son, Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, to accompany me in my journey and left his elder brother, Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, in Bhopal to conduct the administration in my absence. Under orders from me a set of rules was framed defining his powers and guiding him in their exercise. A copy of these rules is given below.

COPY OF RULES.

WHEREAS we are about to proceed to the blessed land of the Hijaz with the object of visiting the sacred shrines at Mecca and Medina (May God Most High increase them in honour and glory!), and, God willing, shall leave Bhopal in the beginning of the month of November 1903, corresponding with the month of Shaaban 1321 Hijra, and whereas it is expedient that certain rules regulating the transaction of State business during our absence should be laid down, we hereby ordain as follows :—

NAWAB NASRULLA KHAN BAHADUR.

I. These rules shall remain in force from the date of our departure to that of our return.

II. Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur (should he not accompany us), Khan Bahadur Munshi Muhammad Mumtaz Ali Khan Sahib Bahadur, Muin-ul-Muham of the State, and the Nasir-ul-Muham of the State, shall, in conformity with the provisions of these rules, carry out the duties respectively devolving upon them. Similarly, Hafiz Muhammad Hasn Khan Sahib Bahadur, Nusrat Jang, Mir Bakhshi of the State Forces, and Seth Hem Raj, Superintendent of the State Treasury, as well as the official in charge of our *Insha* (Home) office shall perform their respective functions in accordance with these rules

III. Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur will be guided by the instructions embodied in the following sections :—

(1). The system hitherto in vogue, of papers being submitted to the *Insha* office for our approval, information, or sanction shall continue as usual; and the departmental intermediary

and confirmatory orders endorsed thereon will be issued under the signature of Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan, in so far as such orders are in accordance with the laws and procedure in force in the State.

(2). Orders issued under our signature regarding the appointment, dismissal, suspension, transfer, promotion, and degradation of, and the grant of leave to, State officials will, in cases of urgency, be issued under the signature of Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan. Every such order will, however, be provisional till our return, and, unless confirmed by our sanction, shall not be deemed to be permanent. On our return from the Hijaz a statement of all such orders shall be submitted to us by the officer in charge of our pay office. Suitable orders will then be issued by us after due consideration. No annuity, pension, or allowance should be created, and no new increase in emoluments shall be made during our absence.

(3). Appeals lodged in the *Insha* office shall, in accordance with the existing procedure, be forwarded for disposal under orders from Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Bahadur, to the

Nasir-ul-Muham if they are preferred against the Muin-ul-Muham's decree or finding, or *vice versâ*. By the time that orders have been passed on these appeals by the departmental heads concerned, we shall have returned from our voyage, and they will then be laid before us for final confirmation. As regards fresh appeals, we should be kept informed of them by post. It takes a letter one month to reach Mecca from India.

(4). Of the revenue, civil, and criminal cases for appeal or revision, or cases in which capital sentence has been passed and which are submitted to us through the *Insha* office for final confirmation—whether such cases belong to the class mentioned in the above section or have been instituted and have passed through the preliminary stages previous to our departure—should any case be of such a nature that to leave it pending till our return would be injurious to the litigants or otherwise inexpedient, or should the case be one in which capital punishment has to be awarded, the matter may be finally dealt with by the Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur in consultation

with the following colleagues in accordance with the provisions below :—

(*a*) In revenue cases the Nasir-ul-Muham and Munshi Muhammad Israr Hashan Khan Sahib, Assistant to the Nasir-ul-Muham, will be consulted.

(*b*) In civil and criminal cases Khan Bahadur Munshi Muhammad Mumtaz Ali Khan Sahib, Muin-ul-Muham, and Munshi Sayyid Muhammad Kudrat Ali Sahib, Revenue Assistant, will be consulted.

(*c*) In cases involving capital punishment the following Committee will have consultative powers :—Khan Bahadur Munshi Muhammad Mumtaz Ali Khan, the Muin-ul-Muham, the Nasir-ul-Muham, Hafiz Muhammad Hasn Khan Sahib Bahadur, Mir Bakhshi of the State Forces, Maulvi Muhammad Abd-ul-Hakk Sahib, the Kazi, and Maulvi Muhammad Yahya Sahib, the Mufti of the State.

*Explanation.*—All such decisions, with the exception of sentences of capital punishment, will be open to appeal to us within three months after our return. In cases in which the Committee

referred to in clause (*c*) are unanimous in awarding a capital sentence, the award, prior to its enforcement, should be communicated to us by telegram. A telegraphic message takes three days to reach Mecca from India, and our decision will be telegraphed back within a week or ten days at the utmost. The sentence ordering the accused to be beheaded shall be announced, and the date on which it is to be executed shall be fixed after our approval has been obtained.

(5). With regard to important police matters the Nasir-ul-Muham will issue the necessary instructions after consulting Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur.

(6). Should it be necessary to send out a military detachment for the pursuit, arrest, or suppression of robbers, dakaits or other similar depredators, Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur will pass orders in conjunction and consultation with Nusrat Jang Bahadur, the Military Mir Bakhshi, the Muin-ul-Muham Bahadur, and the Nasir-ul-Muham Bahadur.

(7). Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur has power to draw upon the State Treasury to the amount of Rs. 2,000 a

month to meet extraordinary charges that may have to be incurred in connection with the public works or for the public advantage.

(8). In the event of its being found necessary to institute an inquiry into the conduct of any State official, the Nasir-ul-Muham will apply for permission to investigate as required by the practice obtaining in the State. Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan will pass orders accordingly; provided, however, that no order against any official whose monthly pay exceeds Rs. 25 shall take effect during our absence without our express permission. Should such a contingency arise, the official concerned shall remain on security and await either our return, when his case will be looked into by us, or our order confirming the award against him.

IV. All heads of departments and other responsible officials shall immediately comply with orders received from the Supreme Government relating to their respective departments as herein set forth :—

(1). Correspondence relating to the Revenue Department will be received from the Political Agent through our Vakil by the Muin-ul-

Muham, who will take the necessary action thereon, either personally or through his subordinates.

(2). Similarly, correspondence referring to Judicial, Police, and Executive matters will be received through the proper channel by the Nasir-ul-Muham, and that officer will deal with it in the manner described above.

(3). Should compliance with an order involve difficulty or entail any loss or inconvenience to the State, the matter should be communicated to us as well as to the Supreme Government by telegraph in consultation with Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur and Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur before any action is taken. The question can then be dealt with in accordance with the decision thus arrived at, which will be telegraphed back within one week or ten days' time.

V. With the exception of cases of capital sentences, which frequently call for immediate action, and with the exception of cases mentioned in section (4), heading III, all other revenue and judicial cases should be worked out and filed in the *Insha* office pending our return.

The disposal of Financial papers such as the Schedule of receipts and disbursements connected with the *Huzur Office,* and orders for payments exceeding the budget allotment, which require our initials, should also await our return. The officials concerned shall, however, continue to exercise supervision and control over such documents as usual. Moreover, no new weighty measure which may have important results shall be adopted, unless it is rendered necessary by considerations of great urgency or expediency.

VI. The Muin-ul-Muham, the Assistant to the Muin-ul-Muham, the District Nazims, the Tahsildars of Parganas and the Superintendent of Customs shall continue to exercise their respective functions in regard to the collection of land revenue and arrears and other similar matters, subject to the following instructions :—

(1). No fresh *Jagir* or *Muafi* shall be created during our absence. In case of the death of any existing Jagirdar or Muafidar the files will be put up, and these, together with those that are now under preparation, and those relating to the arrangement of title-deeds, now under consideration in the *Huzur Office,* shall, after the

completion of necessary formalities, be kept in the *Insha* office till our return, when we will pass final orders thereon.

(2). There will be no occasion to distribute leases while we are away from Bhopal, as the quinquennial settlement has already been carried out by us. Should it be found necessary to make a new agreement owing to the death or absconding or default of a tenant, the case should await final orders on our return, as the season of our journey is not that in which tenants enter on holdings, and the Tahsildars of Parganas will continue to exercise the necessary control as usual.

(3). We have made full arrangements for the working of the Forest Department in connection with which the Muin-ul-Muham has obtained our sanction to certain measures. So there will probably be no necessity for any new executive measure till our return. Should any fresh measure of importance for which the existing arrangements do not provide be still required, it must be postponed till we come back.

(4). The miscellaneous contracts for the current and the following years have been sanctioned by us. The renewal of these contracts falls

due at a period which coincides with the date of our return, when we will ourselves see to their renewal. Other contracts will be given out as usual by subordinate officers in exercise of their powers in this respect.

VII. Police arrangements, such as enlistments in the force, the establishment of police stations and posts, etc., have also been made by us. The Superintendent of Police will continue as usual to perform the duties entrusted to him, the Nasir-ul-Muham exercising the usual control and issuing the necessary orders and instructions from time to time. In more important cases the Nasir-ul-Muham will act in consultation with Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur. Reports received by the Nasir-ul-Muham from the Superintendent of Police will be dealt with as usual.

VIII. Hafiz Muhammad Hasn Khan Sahib Bahadur Nusrat Jang, Mir Bakhshi of the State Forces, will continue as usual to exercise supervision and control over the Ihtishamiya Cavalry, the Imperial Service Troops, the Ihtiramiya Infantry and Cavalry, the Red Jackets, and the Intizamiya regiments. Whenever there is

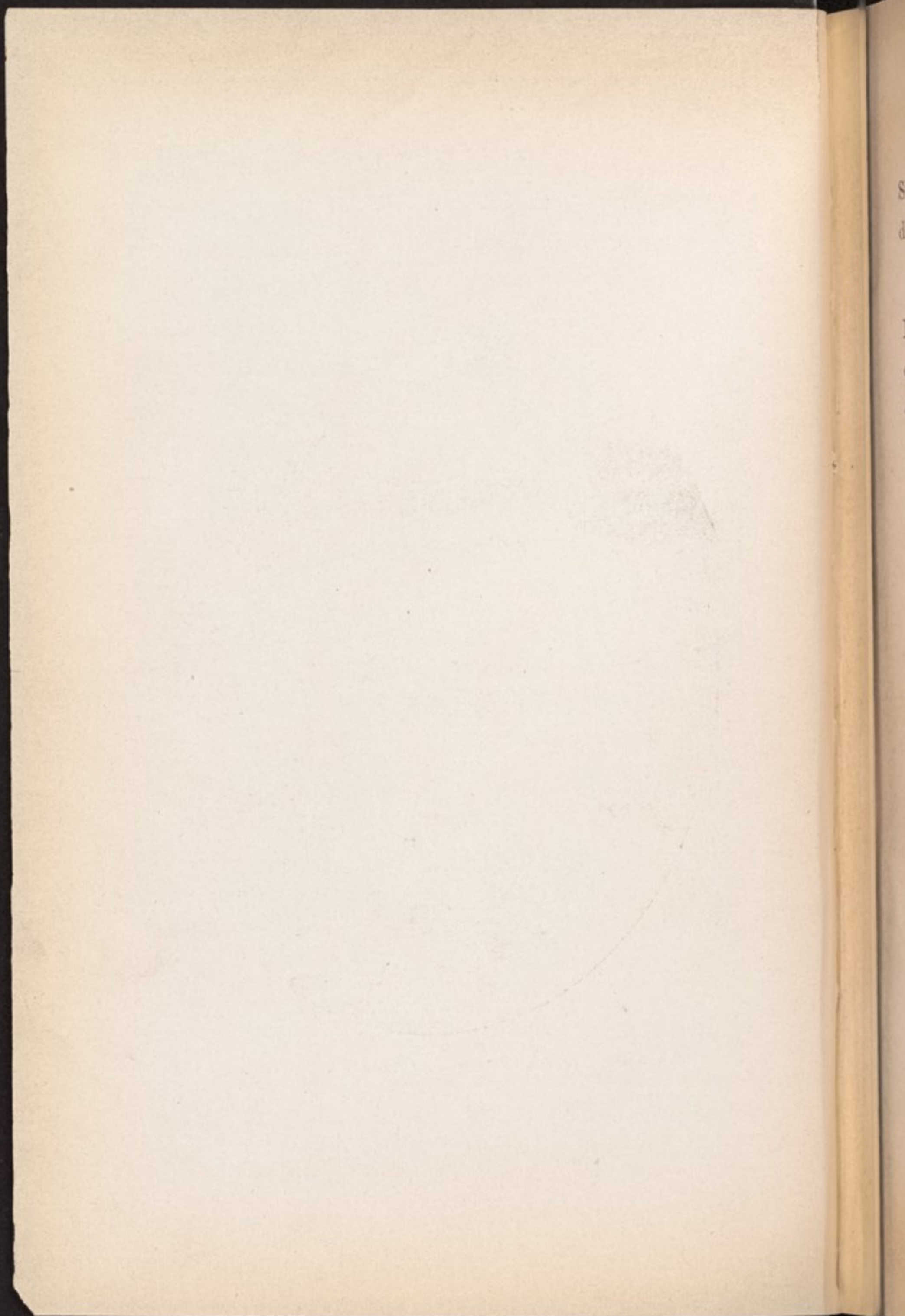
occasion to send out a military detachment for the purpose of pursuing, arresting, or suppressing robbers, dakaits, or other offenders, the Mir Bakhshi will take the necessary action in consultation with, and with the approval of, Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, the Muin-ul-Muham, and the Nasir-ul-Muham.

IX. The Superintendent of the State Treasury will make the usual disbursements for the ordinary expenditure of the State provided in the annual budget estimate. To meet incidental and extraordinary expenses for the public benefit or State requirements, the Superintendent of the State Treasury will pay up to Rs. 2,000 a month on the order of Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur and Rs. 500 a month each on the order of the Muin-ul-Muham and the Nasir-ul-Muham.

X. All correspondence to our address from the various heads of departments, State officials, and the *Insha* office, forwarded to the last mentioned office for transmission to us, shall be closed

in a sealed bag under the personal supervision of Munshi Ahmud Hasan Khan, Mir Munshi of the State, who will forward the bag once a week to the State Vakil. The latter officer will hand over the bag to the Political Agent for transmission to us, in time to catch the next mail steamer.

XI. Should he be unable to accompany us owing to any unforeseen circumstances and thus remain behind in Bhopal, Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidulla Khan Sahib Bahadur will act as a colleague to Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur who shall consult him in all important matters. Civil cases and memoranda of appeal against orders or findings of the Nasir-ul-Muham submitted to the *Insha* office will be dealt with by the Sahibzada instead of Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, as laid down in sections 3 and 4 of heading III. Moreover, orders relating to the Civil branch of the Judicial Department, which now emanate from our personal office, as also orders connected with the reinstatement, dismissal, suspension, reduction, promotion, and transfer of, and the grant of leave to, employés of the Military Department, will be passed and signed by him.

Sahibzada Hafiz Mohamed Ubaidulla Khan Bahadur.

Such orders will be subject to the directions laid down in section 2, heading III, of these rules.

XII. All the State officials, Civil Judges, Magistrates, and Revenue and Police officers will continue to exercise the powers respectively enjoyed by them in accordance with the laws now in force in the State, or as amended and modified by these rules after we take our departure. In doing justice to litigants administering the various departments of the State and performing their initial and subsidiary duties the said officials shall display the utmost zeal, activity, honesty, and fidelity.

XIII. Communications relating to the visits of Political Officers and other exalted Government officials and European guests will continue as usual to be received in the *Insha* office and dealt with by Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, who will issue the necessary instructions to the Superintendent of the State Guest-houses and the Officer in charge of the State Stables regarding accommodation, entertainment, conveyance, and supply of transport, etc.

XIV. No Indian guest will be entertained by the State during our absence with the exception of persons in whose favour any communication may be received from the Political Agent or the Supreme Government.

Dated this first day of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1321 Hijra, corresponding to the 26th July 1903 A.D.

This was the first occasion in this State on which administrative powers had been given to the sons of a Chief during the Chief's lifetime. When in the year 1280 Hijra Her Highness the late Nawab Sikandar Begam, now in Heaven, went on pilgrimage, the only power which she conferred upon my mother, who has found Mercy, was to initial such orders as directed in a paper to be brought on to a file or to be recorded.

On the 22nd Zikaad 1319 A. H., corresponding to the 3rd of March 1902, I communicated my wishes to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in a *Kharita*, of which the following is a translation :—

* * * *

*Kharita* from Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam, the Ruler of Bhopal, addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated the

22nd Zikaad, 1319 Hijra, corresponding to the 3rd of March, 1902 A.D.

(After compliments.)

It is well known to Your Excellency that it is incumbent on every well-to-do Muhammadan to visit the holy city of Mecca and perform his religious rites. Such has been my intention for some time past, but many things have hitherto stood in the way.

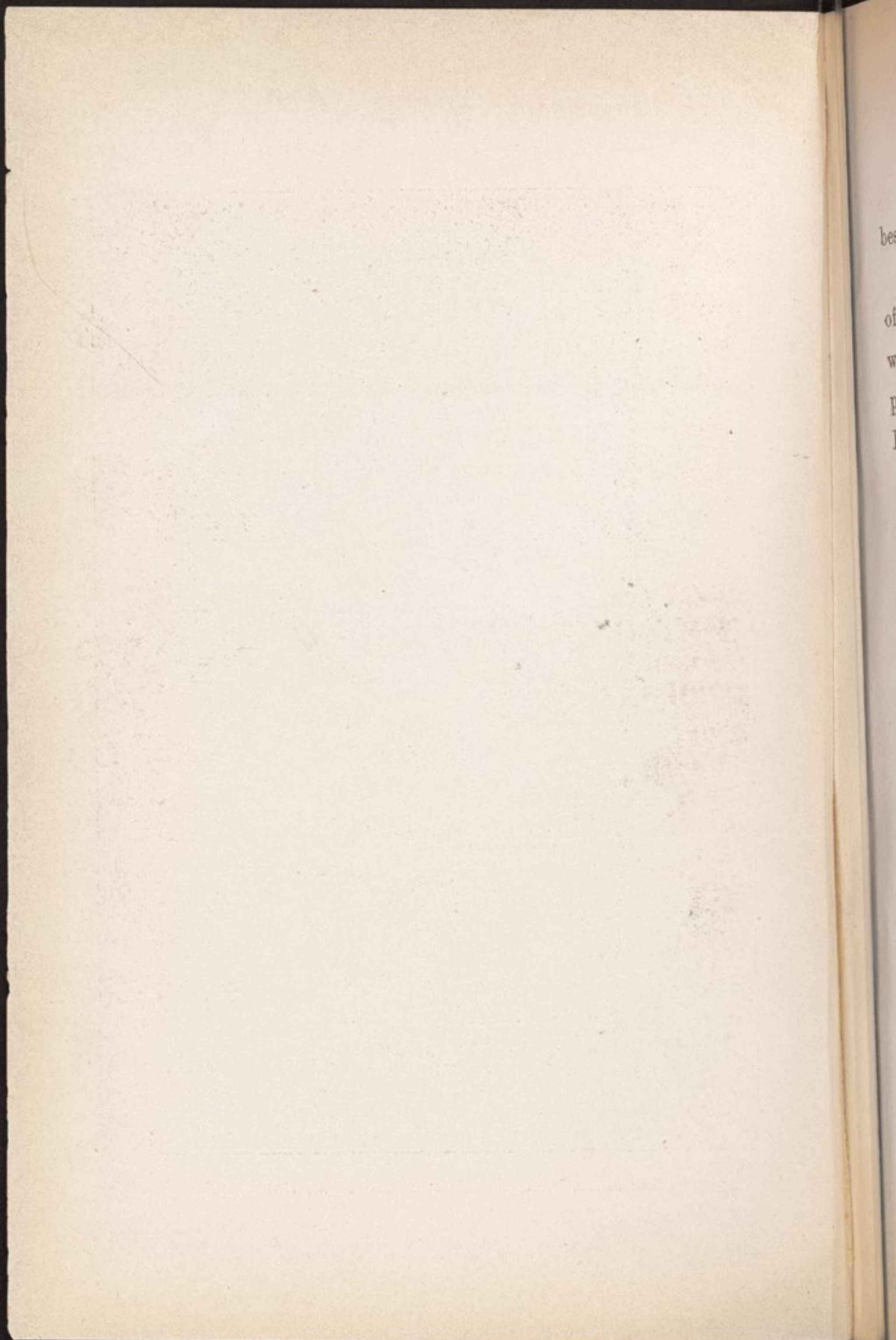
The recent sudden death of my most lamented husband, Nawab Ihtishamul-Mulk Sultan Dulha Sahib Bahadur, has caused me extreme grief and anxiety. Some similar bereavements have told upon my health. In these circumstances it has struck me that a journey to Mecca would prove beneficial, inasmuch as I shall perform that which is religiously binding upon me, and at the same time shall improve my health by the sea trip.

For the above reasons I earnestly request that the Government of India will be pleased to grant me leave for seven or eight months from next October. On my safe return I shall devote myself to the administration of my State, faithfully serving the Government and attending

to the wants of my subjects whom the Almighty Providence and the Government have put under my charge.

Both my younger sons Hafiz Ubaidullah Khan and Hamidullah Khan will accompany me. It will be necessary for a European officer to accompany me up to Jedda, as Dr. Thomas accompanied my lamented grandmother, Nawab Sikandar Begam.

The State affairs that are now being conducted by the Minister will continue to be so carried on by him with the assistance of other State officials. I have not yet decided as to the arrangement for the disposal of my personal work, as there is yet plenty of time to do so, and in the meanwhile I shall have opportunities to think over many public and private matters. I hope during my stay and during my absence to have occasion to judge the capabilities of my successor, as I am not taking Nawab Nasrullah Khan with me. Nearer the time of my departure I shall make suitable arrangement for the disposal of my personal work, as I may deem best. I hope there will be no difficulty in the discharge of State business during my absence.

Sahibzada Mohamed Hamidullah Khan Bahadur.

I earnestly pray for a favourable reply. With best wishes.

In reply I was informed, vide Government of India's letter, dated 16th July 1902, that it would be well that I should go on the proposed pilgrimage after the Coronation Durbar at Delhi.

After taking part in the Coronation Durbar held on the 1st of January, 1903, I again addressed the Government of India on the subject, by a communication dated 17th Rabi-us-Sani, 1321 Hijra, corresponding to the 13th July 1903, to Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

Translation of a Memorandum dated the 17th Rabi-us-Sani, 1321 Hijra, corresponding to the 13th July 1903, from Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam, the Ruler of Bhopal, to Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

In reply to my Memorandum of the 3rd March 1902, I beg to acknowledge your Memorandum No. 4448-4928, dated the 16th July 1902, to the effect that you received my letter addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, on the subject of my intended pilgrimage to Mecca, that you submitted it to His Excellency, and that the Government of

India have kindly intimated that I would be given permission after the Delhi Durbar was over and that efforts would be made to let me have a Medical Officer to accompany me up to Jedda.

I am grateful to Almighty God that now that the Imperial Coronation Durbar at Delhi has already been so successfully held early in January 1903, and as the period of pilgrimage is drawing near, so I have fully determined to start on the pilgrimage some time in the first fortnight of November 1903, and hope to complete the holy journey in five months' time. I accordingly, in continuation of my letter of the 3rd March 1902, beg to receive a favourable reply, and I further hope that you will kindly help me in the follwing matters for which I shall be thankful.

1. Though in the Memorandum, dated the 16th July 1902, provisional permission was granted to me to undertake the journey, it was said that permission will be granted after the Delhi Durbar, I do not, therefore, regard the permission already granted as sufficient. It is hoped that fresh sanction will be obtained and communicated in order that preparations for the journey may be commenced.

2. As already expressed in your Memorandum, a Medical Officer may now be selected to accompany me up to Yambu and Jedda, that he may be useful to me on the way, as already requested, just as Dr. Thomas accompanied my grandmother, Nawab Sikandar Begam, and that I may be duly informed of the selection. The said officer will accompany me up to Yambu, and while I go to Medina from Yambu, he will stay at Yambu, and then await me there while I am at Mecca. When I return to Jedda from Mecca, he will return to Jedda, and will accompany me back to India.

3. On the occasion of the pilgrimage of my deceased grandmother it was arranged that all State official covers containing important State matters should be sent to her through the Political Agent who undertook to forward them to her. The same procedure may also be adopted on this occasion, so that all covers sent to the Political Agent may be forwarded on to me and may reach me.

4. If arrangements about a steamer are made by the Political Agent, it is hoped that the arrangements will be good and all that can be

desired. In case there be any difficulty about his arranging for the steamer, I may be informed, that I may make the arrangement myself. The number of persons who will accompany me in my steamer will not exceed 250, though there may in all be about 500, as many would like to join my party and obtain my permission for it, but these will be supplied with tickets to go by other steamers.

5. I entertain hopes that I and my companions will be exempted from Indian quarantine. If that be not possible, we might be permitted to undergo quarantine at Bhopal, our luggage being disinfected with steam. If I am not allowed this privilege, I shall be much inconvenienced.

6. The Sharif of Mecca and the Governor of Hijaz may be addressed regarding the following matters, through the Consul at Jedda, as was done in the case of the deceased Nawab Sikandar Begam and Nawab Gauhar Begam Kudsia.

(1) Necessary arrangements may be made to provide a sufficient Turkish military escort to guard and maintain peace and order on the road

while I am travelling from Kamran to Yambu and from Yambu to Medina, Jedda and Mecca.

(2) If possible, I and my followers may be exempted from quarantine at Kamran, to save time, in consideration of my friendship with and fidelity to the British Government.

On the above arrangements being made, I will communicate the date of my departure to you, to enable you to arrange for the usual reception and salute of guns and Guard of Honour, etc., at Bombay. At present I am only awaiting a favourable reply to the above.

On hearing from the Political Agent that my request had been granted, I began preparing for the journey and giving the necessary orders. Most of the important matters connected with the journey were such as could only be accomplished through the kindly help of the British Government, of which mention will be made from time to time. My thanks and those of the entire Muhammadan community of India are due to the British Government for the sincere, considerate, and generous help which they gave me in my religious wanderings, for the subjects of Britain enjoy to-day freedom, liberty, and security such

as are enjoyed nowhere else. The consideration shown by the British Government to every faith and creed is wholly without precedent in history. My heartfelt gratitude is due to the Government for their special attention to me. It is simply the result of their kindness that I enjoyed all possible comfort and ease in my journey. I must also thank the Hon'ble Mr. Bayley, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, whose sympathetic kindness was of great help to me in matters connected with my journey and who very kindly and energetically moved in the matter. Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, who took much trouble to render my voyage as comfortable as possible, is deserving of equal gratitude, and I cannot close this chapter without offering him my cordial thanks. I would be ungrateful did I not also acknowledge the excellent measures taken by the Turkish Government for my safety. On the request of the Supreme Government of India they made special arrangements for entertaining me hospitably, especially when I reached Yambu where a Turkish Guard of Honour saluted me under orders from His Majesty the Sultan. At all other places in the Turkish Dominions I

also found the Turkish Officers most anxious to show me every honour and hospitality.

The Government of India also most kindly deputed Major R. C. MacWatt, M.B., B.SC., of the Indian Medical Service, to accompany me to and from Hijaz and at the request of Mrs. MacWatt and after consulting my wishes, let her come with us. Major MacWatt added beyond measure to my comfort on the journey and his wife caused me much happiness. I shall always gratefully remember them.

I moved the Sublime Porte through the British Government to allow me to take an armed escort. But now that my journey by God's mercy has come to a safe and satisfactory end, their refusal is a matter of no regret. On the contrary, I must thank the Turkish Government for their arrangements for the road.

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## CHAPTER II.

### Departure.

At the season when the ocean is stormy a sea voyage is not free from anxiety. It seemed wiser, therefore, to visit Medina, the Illustrious, first, and then, after acquiring the honour which comes from performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, to return forthwith to India. To carry out this idea I ought to have arrived at Medina in the month of Shawwal. As, however, the passing of the blessed month of Ramzan in that holy land instead of on the journey was a greater means of spiritual grace, I preferred to start in Shaaban and decided to take the easy and direct route by sea to Medina, that is, to land from the ship at Yambu instead of Jedda and from there to go to Medina. I was advised for various reasons, and a reference to the papers relating to the pilgrimage of my grandmother, the Nawab Sikandar Begam, confirmed me in the view, that it would be judicious to put myself into written communication with the high and influential dignitaries of the Hijaz. It was, moreover, essential that arrange-

ments should be made for accommodation, etc. Previous to my departure, therefore, I deputed Maulvi Zulfikar Ahmad Nakvi, Maulvi Inayatullah, Maulvi Aazam Husain, and Muhammad Shukri Effendi, a servant of my State, to wait upon Sharif Aun-ur-Rafik Pasha, Amir of Mecca, who was acquainted with the State from the time of the pilgrimages of Her Highness the Nawab Sikandar Begam Sahiba, now in Heaven, and the Nawab Gauhar Begam Sahiba Kudsia who has obtained mercy; and on Daulatlu Ahmad Ratib Pasha, Governor of the Hijaz, who had visited Bhopal in the time of Her late Highness and who at that time did not hold his present exalted office and was hospitably entertained as a guest of our State; on Usman Pasha, Shaikh of the Haram at Medina and Sayyid Hasan Muzaffar Pasha, Muhafiz (guardian) of Medina. The deputation had instructions to wait upon these personages with letters and costly presents. A *nazarana* of one thousand rupees in cash was also to be offered to each of them, for at that time I did not know how far the Supreme Government was prepared to exert itself on my behalf in the matter of moving the Turkish

Government to accord me an honourable and befitting reception on my journey.

The Sharif of Mecca, however, refused to accept the gift of money, thinking it too little, and suggested that, if I wished it, the money might be given as a subscription towards the Hijaz Railway Fund. The Governor followed his example and gave a similar answer. Thus, the foresight which had led to the employment of the unusually courteous language in which my letters had been couched failed to achieve its object in view of the supposed insufficiency of the gift, and produced an entirely opposite impression on the Sharif's mind, and made him take up a wholly unfriendly attitude of which he gave practical proofs from time to time, for certain self-seeking persons misled him by flattery. These men are said to extort large sums of money for their own benefit from the pilgrims and to present it to the Sharif who takes his own share of it. The result of this affair was to convince the persons whom I had sent that it would be useless to present any *nazarana* to the Shaikh of the Haram at Medina or to the Muhafiz, a course which was justified by subse-

quent events, as was proved on our arrival at the place.

Translation of a *Kharita* to the address of the Amir of Mecca the Holy (May God add to its Glory!)

"I had for a long time made up my mind to pay a visit to the holy shrines at Mecca and Medina (May God add to their Glory and Veneration!) The present year has increased my eagerness; and, God willing, it was my intention to reap the spiritual reward of attending the holy portal and kissing the sacred places and then having the honour of performing the sacred Hajj and circumambulating and kissing the places of glory and proceeding to visit the pre-eminently sacred and hallowed tomb of the Master of the Universe, the Lord of Mankind, our Prophet, on whom descend the choicest peace of Heaven. It was then my desire to have the supreme satisfaction of kissing Your Holiness's holy hands. I am, however, accompanied by a very large number of women and children. One of my granddaughters who will travel with me is yet unweaned. All these are also not capable of enduring the hardships of a continuous journey for nearly two weeks on camels. For these reasons it has now been decided that, God

willing, I shall start for the port of Yambu before the season of the pilgrimage, and from there proceed on camels through the five intervening stages to the hallowed tomb of the Essential Condition of the Creation of the Universe, our holy Prophet, on whom descend the Divine Peace and Blessings. After visiting that holy shrine I shall, God Almighty willing, have the honour of kissing Your Holiness's glorified hands and doing homage to the Pillar of Yaman and the Place of Abraham.

"Your Holiness is the Amir of all the Hijaz and, over and above the brotherhood of Islam between us, I have a special claim upon Your Holiness's good will and friendship. When my august grandmothers the Nawab Kudsia Begam, who has found Pardon, and the Nawab Sikandar Begam, who is a dweller in Paradise, visited the holy shrine, Your Holiness's illustrious elder brother of blessed memory, who preceded you in the exalted office of Sharif, showed them every possible mark of kindness and honour, and in according them splendid receptions did his utmost to provide for their comfort and necessities while in camp or on the march. I venture to expect

from Your Holiness a still greater measure of generous hospitality embracing all my requirements by land and sea. The entire dominion of the Hijaz is under Your Holiness's rule, and as I shall be an absolute stranger in that part of the country and my companions will be the guests of God and his holy Prophet, I have deputed certain trustworthy and respectable persons of my State, who are all of them versed in theology and of great piety and learning, to wait upon Your Holiness in the capacity of special delegates. I beg that you will be pleased to show them your wonted kindness, and, after having listened to their personal representations, to address the Shaikh of the Haram at Medina, and the Muhafiz of Medina with a view to an escort of 100 Turkish troops being placed at my disposal at Yambu on payment by me of the necessary remuneration. I also trust that Your Holiness will issue orders to the Bedouin Chiefs and Shaikhs of Kafilas on the way as well as to the headmen of camel-owners, guides, and others to the effect that during the progress of the journey due measures shall be taken for my safety and protection.

These boons I crave of Your Holiness to enable me to enter in all safety the sacred precincts of Medina, and after visiting the holy shrine there to proceed to the glorious Kaaba, may God add greater Glory and Lustre to both Shrines !"

Translation of a *Kharita* to the address of Daulatlu Ahmad Ratib Pasha, Governor of the Hijaz.

This Kharita was couched in terms similar to those employed in the Kharita addressed to the Sharif, the only difference being in the following passage expressive of the old acquaintance between us.

"Although I have, for a long time past, intended to pay a visit to the two holy shrines (May God increase their Glory !) yet the knowledge that Your Excellency is the head of the Government of the Hijaz has sharpened my eager desire to undertake the hol y journey. The fact that during the time of my august mother, the late Nawab Shah Jahan Begam, who is an inmate of Paradise, Your Excellency condescended to grace this State with your visit and that ever since that time you have continued to shed the lustre of your august regard upon this State, constitutes a piece of the rarest good fortune that

could have befallen me at a time when I am undertaking a pilgrimage to Hijaz. Had any other person been at the head of the Government of Hijaz, I could have scarcely pressed my requests for the fulfilment of the things needful for my journey with the same confidence as I do now. Accordingly I have deputed a number of trustworthy and respectable persons of my State whose names are given below, and who are all of them men of recognized ability, learning, piety, and respectability to wait upon Your Excellency as specially accredited delegates.''

Translation of a *Kharita* to the address of Usman Pasha, Shaikh of the Haram at Medina (May God add to its Glory and Lustre !)

"The idea of paying a visit to the angel-cradled portal of the Light of the World, the Master of the Universe, the Intercessor for sinners, the Medium of the Faith, our Prophet (on whom descend the Blessings of God !) has long been fixed in my mind. This year I have made up my mind, God willing, to pay homage to the heaven-domed shrine at Medina and to have the honour of kissing Your Excellency's august hands during the blessed month of Ramzan prior to the performance of the sacred Hajj. I will, of course,

be accompanied by the necessary Kafila and the train of followers indispensable for the occasion. Your Excellency's fame as a kind dispenser of justice and generosity to the pilgrims resorting to the hallowed tomb of our holy Prophet, and as an officer under whose administration peace and safety have been secured and turbulence and rapacity suppressed, has confirmed and accelerated my resolve to undertake the holy journey long contemplated. I have accordingly decided to present myself first at the Prophet's holy tomb at Medina, where, after invoking the blessings of God upon the Holy Spirit of the Master of the Universe, I propose to spend a few days under the shadow of Your Excellency's protection. It is then my intention to proceed, still under Your Excellency's exalted protection, to the House of God (May it gather greater Glory and Lustre !). It is accepted that 'a traveller is a stranger even though he be a King.' It is also well known that 'every new comer is in danger.' For a stranger to travel in an unknown country without proper escort would be unwise and imprudent. I therefore take this opportunity of sending a special deputation of the persons noted below

in whom I have every confidence, to wait upon Your Excellency.

Maulvi Zulfikr Ahmad Nakvi.
Maulvi Inayat-ullah.
Maulvi Azam Husain.
Shukri Effendi.

"I trust that Your Excellency will grant them the honour of a personal interview, and, after listening to such representations as they may have to make on my behalf, Your Excellency will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements regarding the safe escort of myself and my followers from Yambu to the Blessed City on the outward and return journeys. I also beg the favour of an escort of 100 Turkish troops being placed at my disposal on my arrival at Yambu. I hope that this request will be sanctioned and a detachment sent at the petition of my delegates after obtaining payment of the necessary expenses involved while the troops are employed on my escort.

"God willing, I shall shortly arrive at the Holy City when I shall have the honour of paying my respects to Your Excellency. I sincerely hope that this humble expression of the profound

respect and goodwill which I entertain for Your Excellency will find favour in your eyes. My trustworthy delegates have instructions to explain to you all further points.''

A Kharita to the same effect was also addressed to the Governor of Medina (May God add to its Glory and Lustre !).

Up to the time of the departure of the delegates above mentioned, it was my fixed determination to take with me the infant Birjis Jahan Begam (May God's Blessing be on her!). As that time approached, however, the consideration that she was yet too young to bear the hardships of such a long journey overruled my former resolve, and I decided that she should be left behind in Bhopal. This separation was a severe trial for her parents, but they bore it with the utmost fortitude for my sake like the obedient and dutiful children that they are. They left her with her establishment at the Nishat Afza garden till my return under the supervision and guardianship of Munshi Israr Hasn Khan Sahib, Assistant Nasir-ul-Miham, who performed his duty most thoroughly and zealously, and they accompanied me in the journey that I had undertaken. Certain other

important people of the State were given money for the journey and allowed to start when they liked. Besides these, fifty poor people were also provided with the necessary funds to enable them to undertake the holy journey with Munshi Abd-ul-Kayyum, Superintendent of the General Office, who also acted as head of the Pilgrims' Caravan. It was further decided that a number of other caravans should start after us at fixed intervals to allow of our receiving news of Bhopal through them. The pilgrims accompanying me constituted a caravan of upwards of 300 men and women for whose guidance the following rules were framed :—

*Extract from the Rules.*

"Whereas it is expedient that brief rules should be framed defining the various duties and services to be performed by the officers, members of our suite, and the ministerial staff accompanying us, in order that each individual with us may be aware of his personal responsibilities, that the performance of official duties may be simplified, and that the risk of mismanagement and disorder may be obviated, the following rules are hereby issued :—

"I. Throughout the entire journey to the Hijaz, the official designation of each servant of the State will be that shown in statement No. 1, and such servant will be held responsible for the performance of the duties which pertain to that office or which are enumerated in statement No. 2.

"II. Notwithstanding the preceding rule every State servant shall consider himself liable to perform all services which may be required of him in sudden and unforeseen emergencies or which he may be ordered to perform, or from the omission to perform which he may have reason to believe that failure and loss will result. Such services must be performed by the servant in question whether they are part of his regular duty or not.

"III. The Managing Committee, mentioned in statement No. 2, shall see that all just requirements of every individual accompanying us are as far as possible fully met and that there is no neglect to give to any such help as may be necessary. Any member of the Kafila requiring information or help shall ask it from the Committee.

"IV. The Managing Committee, officials, or other persons accompanying us shall represent to Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidulla Khan Sahib Bahadur their difficulties or requirements from time to time. The Sahibzada will personally arrange such matters as in his opinion may properly be carried out without our approval or sanction. In cases in which our orders seem to be required, he will either take orders himself or direct the individual concerned to represent the matter to us.

"V. To some of the party cooked food will be given from the State kitchen. All others will get maintenance allowances and will have to make their own arrangements for food. Each follower must take on board sufficient provisions to last him through the voyage; every member of the party shall also draw up and keep with him a complete inventory of his personal goods to enable him, when required to do so, to furnish information relative to the contents of his trunks, etc.

"VI. Expenditure will take place, whenever necessary, under our orders, or, if these cannot be obtained without difficulty, under the orders of Sahibzada Hafiz Ubaidulla Khan Sahib Bahadur.

Should this also be found impossible, such members of the Managing Committee as are entrusted with the duty of making and receiving cash payments, shall, in pressing emergencies, have power to sanction expenditure not exceeding Rs. 500, for which our written orders will be obtained in due course.

"VII. All State officials, as well as the rest of the persons accompanying us, are required to send on their heavy luggage properly secured and locked and marked with some device for identification to such place, on such date, and in such manner as the transport committee referred to in statement No. 2 shall order, so that the luggage may be transmitted by rail to Bombay and stowed away in the ship before our arrival. No one may take with him more luggage than is absolutely necessary for the railway journey to Bombay, and this must not be more than one man can easily carry in his hand.

"VIII. All the members of the Kafila shall leave the city and take up their residence in the quarantine camp at such date and time and in such manner as the Managing Committee in charge of quarantine arrangements, referred to

in statement No. 2, shall direct. From the date of entering quarantine to that of starting for Bombay, persons must not return to the city. They are required to observe the quarantine rules fully, to get into the railway carriages as ordered by the Committee, and to observe minutely the quarantine regulations which may be imposed in foreign territories.

"IX. The laws and regulations in force in foreign territories must be strictly obeyed throughout the journey. No inhabitant of the said territories must be treated in an unbecoming or discourteous manner. Forbearance, composure, gentleness, and humility must be displayed by all our followers in all matters. Even if rudeness should be met with, it should be overlooked and borne patiently, the holy object of the blessed journey being kept in mind.

"X. Strict precautions should be taken by the troops accompanying us in their mutual relations or dealings with strangers, not to say or do anything which can possibly provoke strife or ill-feeling. Their conduct on the contrary must be so regulated that no one shall have cause for complaint against another.

"XI. No follower shall use a railway carriage, boat, steamer, camel, mule, donkey, or any other mode of conveyance, excepting such as may have been set apart for his special use or such as the Managing Committee for conveyance may permit him to use.

"XII. In places where we may halt no person shall go beyond the limits of the camp, or leave his duty without permission. For the performance of religious duties, the ritual of the pilgrimage, etc., special permission need not be obtained each time. General permission will be granted for such purpose, excepting in the case of guards and patrols, for whom proper arrangements will be made as may be required.

"XIII. Making even the smallest purchase on credit anywhere during the journey is strictly prohibited.

"XIV. No member of our military escort shall attempt to visit any foreign official without orders or without leave, unless such a visit is necessitated by State requirements.

"XV. Nothing of which the import, export, or possession is prohibited under the laws in force in British India and the Turkish Empire or under

marine regulations must be imported or exported. Persons disobeying this rule will be severely punished.

"XVI. Any breach of these rules, or disobedience, or any other offence or misconduct will render the offender liable, besides the punishment for his offence, to expulsion from the Kafila, or, on his return to Bhopal, to be dismissed from service and declared unfit for future employment, or to both punishments, or to any other severe punishment suitable to the time and place.

"XVII. No person shall keep any animal with him during the voyage without our special permission.

"XVIII. The order in which each batch of pilgrims shall proceed to Hijaz is shown in detail in statement No. 5.

"XIX. Persons whose names are entered in list No. 5 shall leave Bhopal on the 18th of October for Dip where they shall undergo quarantine till such time as our special train reaches that place.

"XX. Accompanied by our personal suite, mentioned in list No. 6, we shall move on the 19th of October into the Nishat Afza garden, where we shall remain in quarantine till the 28th idem,

on the evening of which day we shall proceed direct to the Railway Station, and, God willing, start by special train for Bombay.

"XXI. Persons who have to undergo quarantine at Dip shall be guided by the following rules :—

(*a*) The quarantine camp at Dip shall be under the orders of Major Mirza Karim Beg Bahadur.

(*b*) All persons must enter the camp by the evening of the 18th October, corresponding to the 26th Rajab 1321 Hijra.

(*c*) The first muster of the inmates of the camp shall take place at 7 A.M., on the morning of the 19th October, and those who are absent on this occasion will not be permitted to accompany us.

(*d*) The Camp Officer shall visit the inmates of the camp three times a day and shall muster them at 7 A.M., noon, and 7 P.M The name of any person who is absent from muster shall be struck off the list of persons accompanying us.

(*e*) The Medical Officer shall inspect all the inmates of the camp daily at 4 P.M., when they shall assemble and be ready for examination.

The Compounder attached to the camp shall, at the same time, submit to the Medical Officer a report as to the health of the inmates of the camp.

(*f*) Persons joining the camp must bring with them all such personal luggage as they will take by rail. Such luggage as has not been in the camp during the specified period will not be permitted to be carried in our special train.

"XXII. Persons undergoing quarantine with us at the Haiyat Afza and the Nishat Afza gardens shall be guided by the following rules :—

(*a*) All inmates of the camp shall assemble by the afternoon of 18th October 1903 at the specified spot.

(*b*) The inmates of the camp shall be assembled several times every day, and no person who is found absent at any assembly, will be permitted to accompany us.

(*c*) Very strict quarantine shall be enforced in the camp. No person shall be admitted to the camp without permission from the Medical Officer except Nawab Muhammad Nasrulla Khan Sahib Bahadur, the Muin-ul-Muham Bahadur, the

Nasir-ul-Muham Bahadur, Munshi Kudrat Ali Sahib, Bakshi Muhammad Hasn, Munshi Ahmad Hasn Khan, Mir Munshi of the State, and the Medical Officers, including Miss Maclaren. No inmate of the camp shall touch persons thus admitted.

(*d*) A cordon of troops shall be posted round the camp, and the Officer Commanding the detachment shall report to the Medical Officer visiting the camp that the cordon is at its post.

(*e*) Major Macwatt and Miss Maclaren shall inspect the male and female sections of the quarantine camp respectively every day.

*Statement No. 1 showing the respective duties to be performed by the various officers during the voyage to the Hijaz.*

| No. | Designation. | Name. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mir-i-Kafila (head of the Caravan) ... ... | Munshi Muhammad Inayat Husain Khan Sahib, Khan Bahadur, Offg. Nasir-ul-Muham. |
| 2 | Special Orderly Officers ... | Mian Saadat Muhammad Khan, Kiladar (Warden) of the Walled City; Mian Ikbal Muhammad Khan; Mian Jalil Muhammad Khan; and Mian Mahmud Ali Khan. |
| 3 | Commanding Officer ... | Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg. |
| 4 | Second-in-Command ... | Mian Ashik Husain Khan. |
| 5 | Deputation to Arabia ... | Maulvis Zulfikr Ahmad, Aazam Husain, Muhammad Inayatullah and Muhmd. Shukri Effendi. |

*Statement No. 1 showing the respective duties to be performed by the various officers during the voyage to the Hijaz*—(contd.).

| No. | DESIGNATION. | NAME. |
|---|---|---|
| 6 | Safir-i-Consul (Officer appointed to confer and negotiate with Consular Agencies)... ... | Master Liakat Ali and Mian Mahmud Ali Khan. |
| 7 | Mir Munshi ... ... | Munshi Mansab Ali. |
| 8 | Assistant Mir Munshi ... | Munshi Abdur Rauf Khan. |
| 9 | State Accountant ... | Munshi Muhammad Shabir Husain, Munsif, Criminal Court. |
| 10 | Accountant, Privy Purse | Munshi Mansab Ali assisted by Abdul Majid Khan. |
| 11 | Magistrate ... ... | Hafiz Sayyad Ahmad, Tahsildar of Diwanganj. |
| 12 | Superintendent of Treasury and Toshakhana ... | Chunnu Khan, Supdt. of the State Toshakhana. |
| 13 | Translator ... ... | English, Master Liakat Ali; Turkish, Shukri Effendi. |
| 14 | Superintendent of Karkhana .. ... | Muhammad Akil Khan, Supdt. of the Palace Karkhana. |
| 15 | Postal Superintendent ... | Hafiz Muhd. Abdur Rahman, Supdt. of the State Post Office. |
| 16 | Supdt. of Farashkhana (Equipment) ... | Abdur Rahman Khan, Supdt. of the Palace Farashkhana. |
| 17 | Account Clerk ... | Muhammad Ismail Khan, Writer of Palace Accounts. |
| 18 | Muazzin ... ... | Kazi Shaikh Muhammad Khatib (Preacher) of the Jami Masjid, and Hafiz Nur Haidar, *Imam* of the Masjid-i-Sultani. |
| 19 | Purveyors for the camel-drivers ... ... | Ahmad Khan, Asst. Teacher, Bilkisi School; and Hidayatullah Agar. |
| 20 | Précis Writer and Copyist | Shaikh Hamid-ud-din, Clerk to the Asst. Mir Munshi; Ghulam Muhammad Khan and Jaafar Husain. |

*Statement No. 2 showing the personnel and duties of the Managing Committee referred to in Section III.*

| No. | Duties. | To whom entrusted. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Embarkation and disembarkation of passengers ... | Hafiz Muhammad Abdur Rahman, Superintendent of Post offices; Munshi Amir Ahmad, Master Liakat Ali, Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg, Mian Ashik Hasn Khan, Munshi Abdur Rahim. |
| 2 | Quarantine arrangements at Kamran ... | Doctor Wali Muhammad, Hakim Nur-ul-Hasn and Maulvi Alauddin, Tahsildar, and the Medical Officer with the party. |
| 3 | Customs arrangements | Maulvi Aazam Husain, Shukri Effendi, Kari Sulaiman, Maulvi Alauddin, Tahsildar; Master Liakat Ali, the Medical Officer with the party. |
| 4 | Arrangement or conveyance in Arabia ... | Maulvi Aazam Husain, Shukri Effendi; Sayyad Abu Bakr Mutawwif (Guide to the circumambulation of the Kaaba); Sayyad Abdul Halim, Mutawwif; Maulvi Muhammad Ahmad; Munshi Sabir Husain. |
| 5 | Arrangements in connection with the travelling kitchen ... | Hafiz Almas, Darogha; Sayyad Nazim Ali, Supdt. of the State Guest house; Abdulla Khan, Asst. Superintendent. |
| 6 | Arrangements for guards, patrols, orderlies, etc. ... | Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg, Hafiz Sayyad Ahmad, Mian Ashik Husain Khan. |
| 7 | Arrangements for sacrifices ... ... | Abdul Halim Mutawwif and Muhmd. Akil Khan, Superintendent of the State Karkhana. |
| 8 | Provisioning the steamer ... .. | Hafiz Abdur Rahman, Munshi Abdur Rahim, Sayyad Ahmad. |
| 9 | Arrangements for making purchases and sales ... | Munshi Sabir Husain, Sayyad Abdul Halim Mutawwif, Sayyad Abu Bakr Rashidi, Abdulla Khan, Asst. Manager of the kitchen. |
| 10 | Arrangements for the reception of Shaikhs | Sayyad Abdul Halim Mutawwif and Kari Shaikh Muhammad. |

List No. 5 showing the names of persons who will undergo quarantine at Dip to which place they will go on the 18th of October 1903:—

Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg, Camp Officer, Khan Bahadur Munshi Inayat Husain Khan Sahib, Mir-i-Kafila, with 181 persons whose names are omitted for the sake of brevity.

List No. 6 of persons who shall undergo quarantine with us at the Nishat Afza and Hayat Afza gardens :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Women | ... | ... | 64 |
| Men ... | ... | ... | 44 |
| | | Total ... | 108 |
| Total of List No. 5 | ... | ... | 181 |
| | | Grand Total ... | 289 |

Much correspondence was carried on with the Government officials on the subject of quarantine, hire of the vessel engaged, and sanitary arrangements. All these gentlemen very kindly helped me in my travelling arrangements as will appear from the following copy of the correspondence :—

Copy of a letter from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

In my letter of 24th August last I wrote to you that I shall sail from Bombay on 30th October next.

I shall therefore be much obliged if you will kindly arrange that the S. S. *Akbar* be placed at the quay on the 25th October. I wish some of my men with all kits to reach Bombay on the 27th or 28th October, and at convenient interval before my arrival there, to get all my luggage on board and stay there.

Please also let me know how many first and second class cabins there are that I may arrange berths for my followers accordingly.

Copy of a letter dated Sehore, the 4th September 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

I am writing to Captain Goodridge about the steamer being at the wharf by the 25th October. It is certain, however, to be there as, of course, the ship will take some cargo and this takes time to load. I think that if your heavy luggage reaches Bombay on the morning of the 29th October it will be in time. I am, however, enquiring about this. The difficulty will be about quarantine if your men arrive in Bombay before your Highness.

I informed the owner of the *Akbar* that including your Highness there will be 10 first class, 10 second class, and 230 third class passengers. If your Highness wishes to take more than this number it can perhaps be arranged, but possibly the owner may demand some increase in the payment. If your Highness will let me know how many more you wish to take I will ascertain.

Copy of a letter dated the 5th September 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, Sehore.

With reference to your D. O. No. 2139, dated 4th September 1903, I write to say that my men with their luggage will reach Bombay on the 28th October next. I believe there will be no necessity of their being placed a second time under quarantine at Bombay, specially when they will not halt at Bombay, but go direct to on board the steamer and halt there.

I had told you that I would have one entire steamer reserved. As I said, I estimated my followers to number from 250 to 300 and 30 to 40 animals. When you engaged the *Akbar* you informed me that she could accommodate 450

passengers, besides animals. Now I find from the list of followers which is finally ready that there are only three hundred passengers, 40 horses and other live stock. I enclose a list for your information. In these circumstances when the full steamer has been hired by us and she can accommodate 450 persons, the owner cannot charge any excess fare for any number that you may have given him as long as it does not exceed 450. It rests with us to increase or decrease within that number. It is essentially necessary that the steamer be wholly reserved as I would not like the interference of strangers. I trust you have engaged the *Akbar* according to my desire.

Copy of a letter from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

Many thanks for your good advice conveyed in your letter of 9th September.

According to your suggestion I have been in communication with Haji Cassim and to be on the safe side have made him execute an agreement that in future there may be no occasion to question the extra number of passengers.

As you say that such an agreement may not be legally valid in British Courts, I request you to have it legally verified and then returned to me. As the steamer has been engaged by you I shall be much obliged if you will settle such points as may be deemed advisable. The original agreement signed by Haji Cassim is enclosed herewith. You may instruct the State Vakil what is required to be done to make the agreement completely valid.

Though Haji Cassim is a good man, yet it is desirable in a matter of business that a formal agreement should be made with him.

Copy of a letter dated 22nd September 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Col. Weir, in charge, Political Agent in Bhopal.

It would be a great trouble for females to get on board the ship by palanquin from Bombay Railway Station. Will you therefore kindly arrange with the Railway authorities that my saloons may be allowed to run as far as dock near the steamer, whence by palanquin we can get on board the *Akbar* without any difficulty. I shall be glad to have a reply.

Copy of a letter No. 2386, dated the 2nd October 1903, Sehore, from Col. Weir, in charge, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

I enclose a copy of a letter just received from Captain Goodridge, the Director of the Royal Indian Marine. It is advisable that the photographs referred to should be sent without delay direct to Captain Goodridge, C.I.E., R.N., the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard, Bombay, and I shall be glad if you will in due course inform me when they have been sent on to him.

Copy of a letter No. 4030, dated Bombay, the 30th September 1903, from the Director of the Royal Indian Marine to the Political Agent in Bhopal.

The Secretary to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal gave me to understand that he would send me photographs of steam launches which he had. I shall be glad to receive them as early as possible to enable me to judge whether any one of them is fit to go in the *Akbar* for Her Highness' use at Yemboo and Jeddah.

Copy of a letter No. 2387, dated Sehore, the 2nd October 1903, from Col. Weir, in charge, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

With reference to your Highness' letter, dated 10th September 1903, regarding the agreement executed by Haji Cassim, I enclose for your

information a copy of a letter No. 1256, dated 25th September 1903, from the Solicitor to the Government of Bombay to the Director of the Royal Indian Marine. I would invite your special attention to para. 4 and suggest that before your Highness starts on the journey definite arrangements be made for disembarking at Yemboo and for embarking at Jeddah on the return journey.

**Copy of a letter No. 1256, dated 25th September 1903, from the Solicitor to the Government of Bombay to the Director of the Royal Indian Marine.**

I have the honor to return all the papers forwarded to me with your letter No. 3781, dated 24th September 1903.

2. Assuming that the two documents which appear to have been written in Bhopal territory, constitute a valid and lawful contract there between H. H. the Begam and Haji Cassim Joosub, I think that on the two documents taken together an agreement has been entered into, which so far as the terms of the contract as stated in the documents go, would be recognised by a British Indian Civil Court having jurisdiction in the matter. As against H. H. the Begam, how-

ever, no suit can be brought in a British Indian Court in respect of the agreement without the consent of the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India could not take any steps on the agreement not being a party to it.

3. As part of the agreement is to be performed in Bombay, the letter of Mr. Haji Cassim Joosub should be stamped with rupee one under Article 20 of Schedule 8 to the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, by virtue of sections 3 (*c*) and 35 (*c*) of that Act.

4. I have already pointed out that there is a considerable difference in the terms of the agreement from those in the form of Government Charter Party, with which, therefore, it cannot suitably be compared, and I beg to point out that there is nothing stipulated for in the agreement regarding the means of transport from the steamer to the shore at Yemboo and *vice versâ* at Jeddah on the return voyage.

Copy of a telegram dated Sehore, the 3rd October 1903, from the Political Agent to Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam.

2392. Information just received that Major Robinson cannot conveniently be spared to

accompany you; Major Macwatt will be deputed instead. Major Macwatt asks permission to take his wife with him. Government have no objection, but state that it is a matter for your Highness to decide; kindly wire your decision as time is short and orders must issue sharp as to Major Macwatt's movements.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 4th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

As regards the agreement executed between me and Haji Cassim I have already written to you and again write to say that if it is not in the form of Government Chartered Company, kindly have the same rectified that it may be useful in case of breach of contract on his part.

As to the means of transport from steamer to the shore at Yemboo and *vice versâ* at Jeddah on the return voyage, any kind of boat may do for my followers. But for me and other ladies a small steamer or a boat with rooms will be very desirable. I have also enquired from Captain Goodridge about it. As no arrangement up to this time has been made, so kindly get this matter arranged for me. You have returned and I hope

now everything will be conveniently settled at an early date.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 4th October 1903, from Her Highness the Nawab Begam of Bhopal to Captain Goodridge, Bombay.

According to your letter, dated the 30th September, to the address of the Political Agent in Bhopal, I send you in a separate cover the photographs of the steam launches.

We have no experience of sea-voyage, and so I hope you will kindly give me necessary instructions, and help me in arranging for such things as may contribute towards a comfortable and safe voyage, since you are not only well versed in this respect, but an expert in all that concerns a sea-voyage. Therefore I ask you as a friend the means of transport which will be suitable for landing at Yemboo and getting on board at Jeddah on the return voyage; I am sure your advice will be very valuable and useful to me. Any kind of boat may do for my followers, but I think a small steamer or a boat with rooms will do for me personally. I shall be glad if you will kindly inform me if I should have to take with me in the *Akbar* a steamer or a boat of this kind from Bombay, or whether such a thing can be had at

Kamran, Yemboo or Jeddah, and whether you can kindly arrange for one.

Please also let me know whether there will be any additional charge for taking such a boat from Bombay, Kamran, Yemboo or Jeddah.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 4th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Col. Weir, Political Agent in Bhopal.

With reference to your D. O. No. 2386, dated 2nd October 1903, I am forwarding to-day to Captain Goodridge the photographs of the steam launches. I have also enquired from him the means of transport that will be suitable for me at the time of landing at Yemboo, and embarking at Jeddah on the return voyage.

Copy of a letter No. 65C., dated 10th October 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

Please refer to your Highness' Yaddasht dated the 20th August 1903, regarding the journey to the Hijaz. I have received a telegram stating that the Secretary of State has telegraphed that the Turkish Government are willing to accord due honors, escort, and customs facilities to your Highness, as in the case of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that your Highness may be accompanied by

your own suite and soldiers so far as they are unarmed Moslems. The Secretary of State promises to send a further communication as to quarantine.

The Government of India have no objection to the detachment of the Bhopal Victoria Lancers under Major Karim Beg accompanying your Highness, but arms will apparently have to be left on board unless some arrangements can be made at Yemboo and Jeddah.

I have received no instructions regarding passports. It would be as well to have a list prepared in English of all the persons who will accompany your Highness and to note thereon their names and office and approximate age. In the case of women it will, I think, be sufficient if the relationship be noted, such as wife of so and so or daughter of so and so.

Copy of a letter No. 67C., dated Bhopal, the 11th October 1903, from Major Impey to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

Captain Goodridge telegraphs regarding the steam launch that your Highness wishes to take for use at Yemboo and Jeddah. He thinks, the launch is fit to go.

He adds that if your Highness will bear all expenses, he will send an Engineer up to survey it. I presume the expenses will be the travelling expenses of the man deputed. Please let me know what reply to send.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 11th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I write to say that the photographs of the steam launches were sent simply to give an idea to Captain Goodridge if such boats were forthcoming there. I knew that the steam launches at Bhopal were not fit to go. As there is no time to get them repaired, so it is needless to call an Engineer here.

I shall be obliged if Captain Goodridge could arrange and procure for me a boat of similar kind at Bombay. If this cannot be done life boats will do instead.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 15th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I am told that all my luggage and that of my followers going with us to Hedjaz will be opened for Duty at the Customs Office, Bombay.

Will you kindly let me have a letter addressed to the Commissioner of Customs or the City Magistrate, certifying that the luggage contained nothing that could be injurious to health and not they contained contraband articles, so that we may be saved of great deal of trouble.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 17th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I have received your letter No. 77C., dated the 16th October 1903.

As to para. 1 of your letter, you are fully aware that the quarantine of my followers will take place at Dip, and that of mine in the garden which is at a long distance from the city. Regarding disinfection of the train, please ask the General Traffic Manager, G. I. P. Ry., to get this thoroughly done according to the rules, and I will strictly see that no communication with intermediate places takes place. The arrangements are being made for the proper disinfection of my saloons.

As to para. 2 of your letter, kindly ask Haji Cassim to disinfect the steamer according to

regulation and to destroy the rats. I have also written to him on the subject.

As to your para. 3, I know not what should be the size of a steamer under Turkish rules. Kindly enquire from Captain Goodridge whether the *Akbar* measures according to their rules. If not, please ask him to arrange for another steamer for me which may answer. In case the *Akbar* does not fulfil the required conditions, I am willing to go in another steamer, for I have fully made up my mind to undertake the pilgrimage.

As to your para. 4, I have to say that plague has broken out only in one quarter of Bhopal, and for the last few days by the favour of God, it is subsiding there. Under these circumstances if you think it necessary, the Constantinople Board of Health may be informed. However, from the very outset I have been under the impression that my quarantine will be made at Kamran. I have arranged and packed up everything for the journey, and now my feet are in the stirrups, so to say, and thus the dread of quarantine would not deter me, specially when I am undertaking this journey in the holy path, and so I entrust myself to Almighty God.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 22nd October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

Your letter No. 84C., dated the 21st October 1903, to hand. I am much indebted to you for the trouble you are taking for my comfort and that of my followers, during our journey to the Hijaz. If the Railway authorities do not agree to bring my special close to my garden, I shall order my carriages to be brought to my garden two or three days before my departure and to have them disinfected. Should the Railway Officials agree, I shall have the place lighted up with lamps by my men who are with me in quarantine.

I will forbid the attendance of persons who are not travelling by the special and the meeting of my own suite with other people who may have been exposed to infection.

I shall be very glad if you will call on me in my garden any day before you leave for Bombay.

Ere this Haji Cassim had been advised to clean the *Akbar*. But I have recently heard that she is still in the same dirty condition. Haji Cassim has again been reminded that only

a few days remained for my arrival there, and so the steamer should at once be cleansed. In reply he carelessly wires to my Private Secretary, and I send the telegram to you through the State Vakil for your perusal.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 24th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I learn from Major Macwatt that no bungalow or house is available at Yemboo. I am sure he and Mrs. Macwatt will be put to great inconvenience if they were to stay there longer. But in His Britannic Majesty's Legation at Jeddah they can find comfortable accommodation. Please therefore ask Captain Goodridge to settle with the owner of the S. S. *Akbar* that after leaving us at Yemboo, she may convey Major and Mrs. Macwatt to Jeddah on her way back to Bombay.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 25th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

Nawab Nasrullah Khan Sahib is going on a pleasure trip to Bombay. As he has never before been to the place, all necessary arrangements have been made for his stay there, and I shall be much obliged if you will send him letters of intro-

duction to those Government Officers whose acquaintance will be useful to him or whose services he may require.

Copy of a letter No. 89C., dated Bhopal, the 26th October 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

Please refer to my letters No. 65C., dated the 10th October, and No. 77C., dated the 16th October 1903, regarding the journey to the Hijaz. Consequent on the appearance of plague at Bhopal the Sanitary Board at Constantinople insists upon ten days' quarantine at Kamran or Abu Saad. They consent to your Highness and suite performing it on your ship, provided that the conditions previously specified have been complied with.

The Turkish Government ask for a written assurance that your Highness accepts condition as to suite and soldiers. I am, therefore, directed to ask your Highness to furnish a written assurance that your suite and soldiers will consist of unarmed Mohamedans.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 26th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

In reply to your letter No. 89C., dated the 26th October 1903, please refer to my letter dated

the 19th October, in reply to your letter No. 77C., dated the 16th October 1903, regarding the conditions imposed by the Turkish Government.

Please inform the Sanitary Board at Constantinople that my suite is undergoing quarantine at Dip and I in the garden which is far from the city of Bhopal.

You have already asked the General Traffic Manager, Bombay, and Captain Goodridge, Director of the Indian Marine to the Bombay Government, to disinfect my special train and the steamer respectively, and to comply with the Turkish rules regarding pilgrim ships in respect of S. S. *Akbar*. To forbid communication with intermediate places I have arranged that my special will be brought on the Bhopal-Ujjain Railway siding close to my garden. Thus I have complied with every condition specified by the Turkish Government. As to the arms, of course, permit me to say that I am proceeding to the Hijaz only to discharge religious obligations. It is merely for the protection of our life and property that we wanted to take arms with us, and I trust that the British Government have already satisfied the Turkish Government

in this respect. However, I think it proper to take arms with us and leave them on board the steamer when satisfied of our safety on the road.

What do you say as to this step ? If it does not seem advisable I can proceed unarmed.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 27th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

With reference to your letter No. 89C., dated the 26th instant, I write to assure you that all my suite and soldiers are Mohamedans. No one will take arms with them except some respectable members of my family and officials of my State, for whom it is essential to keep arms. Following are the names of the persons and their arms :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan ... | One sword. |
| (2) | ,, Hamidullah Khan ... | One Rook rifle and one sword or dagger. |
| (3) | Mian Mahomed Ali Khan ... | One sword or dagger. |
| (4) | Saadat Mohammad Khan ... | ,, |
| (5) | Ikbal Mohammad Khan ... | ,, |
| (6) | Jalil Mohammad Khan ... | ,, |
| (7) | Major Karim Beg, Commanding Officer ... ... | ,, |
| (8) | Mian Ashik Husain Khan Bakhshi ... ... | ,, |
| (9) | Captain Muhammed Husain Khan ... ... ... | ,, |

(10) Mohammad Afzal Khan, in charge, Risaldar ... One sword or dagger.

Permit me to say that ordinary pilgrims are allowed permits to proceed to Mecca with arms. The honours bestowed on me by the British Government are not unknown to the Turkish Government. I therefore want you to kindly intercede for me to have these aforesaid persons permitted to take arms with them. For I hope that through your intercession the Porte will accede to my request, and with this hope my said men are taking arms with them. For I have now no more time to wait for an answer from the Turkish Government. However, if on arrival at Yemboo, I be informed that my request was not acceded to, I will leave those arms at the British Consulate or with Major Macwatt there. I ask you also to send me license for the above-named arms.

Copy of a letter No. 91C., dated Bhopal, the 27th October 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

Mr. Devey, His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jeddah, has informed the Government of India that he telegraphed to the Vice-Consul, Dr. S. M. Hussain, now at Tayif, to communicate

verbally to His Excellency the Vali of the Hijaz, the intention of your Highness to perform the pilgrimage and to arrange for facilities and courtesies.

The grand Sharif has notified his satisfaction on hearing of your Highness' approaching visit, and considers himself bound to pay you as all other Mussulman Rulers due respects and honour, but especially to your Highness because he knew your predecessors.

A promise is made that your Highness will be made comfortable and taken care of.

The Vali has requested permission of the Sublime Porte to put your Highness and suite in the new Musafirkhana of the Sultan in Mecca as no other house can hold 300 persons.

I trust that these assurances will be considered satisfactory by your Highness.

**Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 28th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.**

Referring to your letter No. 98C., dated 27th October, I offer my heartiest thanks to yourself and the Government of India who have so kindly arranged for my comfort and convenience during my journey to the Hijaz. Please convey my

gratitude to all officers who have secured for me these facilities and made arrangements to lodge me in the new Musafirkhana, I hope that I will be very comfortable there, during my brief sojourn in Arabia.''

The terms settled about quarantine were as follows:—

1. Quarantine to be out of Bhopal.
2. Those in quarantine to have no communication from outside.
3. Train to be washed and disinfected.
4. The steamer's size to be according to Turkish rules.
5. Rats in steamer to be killed.
6. Steamer to be cleansed according to quarantine rules.
7. Intimation to be given if Bhopal affected with plague.

**Copy of a letter No. 77C., dated Bhopal, the 16th October 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.**

I have received a telegram stating that on the following conditions your Highness' suite will be exempted from quarantine after satisfactory medical inspection and disinfection at Abu Saad :—

(1) Quarantine to be undergone outside Bhopal and train to Bombay disinfected beforehand, communication with intermediate places being forbidden and transit to shipping being subject to sanitary surveillance.

(2) Ship to be disinfected and rats destroyed.

(3) Turkish rules for pilgrim ships in regard to exact measurement of ship to be complied with.

(4) If Bhopal becomes infected with plague before your Highness' departure, the fact must be notified to the Constantinople Board of Health.

I fear that this last condition means that, now plague has broken out at Bhopal, quarantine will be enforced.

As a precautionary step I put the disinfecting of the steamer I intended to travel in, in the hands of Captain Goodridge, C.I.E., the Director of the Royal Indian Marine. On the 14th September 1903, before my departure from Bhopal, I sent Sahibzadah Hafez Mohammed Ubaidullah Khan with a letter from the Political Agent to see if the steamer was thoroughly disinfected.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 9th September 1903, from Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

I enclose a copy of a letter dated the 8th September 1903, which I have received from Haji Cassim.

If your Highness wishes to have an agreement drawn up it would be as well to have it done in a legal manner as it is possible that the document executed in Bhopal, of which Haji Cassim writes, might not be valid in a British Court of Law.

I enclose a letter to Captain Goodridge to introduce Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan.

Copy of a letter dated Bombay, the 8th September 1903, from Haji Cassim to Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I have the honour to inform you that I arrived in Bombay quite safe this morning. Before leaving Bhopal I contemplated having an interview with you and enquired whether you were at home. I was informed that you had gone to see the Begam Sahib. Meanwhile Her Highness sent for me when I went to call on her. I had the pleasure of meeting her at home, and she was good enough to make me a present

of a shawl and some cloth. She then told me to sign an agreement which had been prepared in Urdu. I complied with her command and signed the same. She agreed to pay for 50 more men at Rs. 100 each, also in the event of her being kept in quarantine, Her Highness agreed to pay me demurrage at the rate of Rs. 300 (three hundred) for 8 days only. Moreover, if the ship be detained at any other place she is also to pay a demurrage at Rs. 300 per day for the time the ship lie detained there.

Please pardon me for any error you see in my letter. I shall be happy to carry out any order you wish.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 16th September 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Col. Weir, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I learn to-day from Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan that Captain Goodridge has very kindly entertained him by showing him round the steamers and helped him to see other interesting places.

I was very glad to hear of this and ask you to kindly convey my best thanks to him. You will kindly ask Captain Goodridge, as he is an

expert in sea voyages, to suggest whatever he may think advisable for my safe and comfortable voyage, to Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan, who is still in Bombay. In this connection whatever advice will be given by Captain Goodridge, the Sahibzada will be glad to arrange accordingly.

**Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 22nd September 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.**

Trusting you are in the enjoyment of excellent health.

Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan came back to Bhopal yesterday from Bombay.

He saw the S. S. *Akbar*. The ship is at present a little dirty. But I hope Captain Goodridge will get her cleansed before my arrival there.

Through your kindness Captain Goodridge and the Secretary received Sahibzada Obaidullah Khan very courteously. I thank you for this. I am quite well. The Sahibzada desires me to convey his best thanks for the letter of introduction you gave him, and sends you his best salaams.

I hope you are coming in the next week.''

Before taking my departure, it seemed to me that I ought to clear my conscience in the matter of any obligation I owed to my people. To do this was the more necessary, as man is wont to give little thought to his own shortcomings. Accordingly on the 24th of Rajab 1321 Hijra, after performing the *Asr* service at the Asifi mosque, while bidding farewell to my people, I asked their pardon in general terms; and I was very pleased that my faithful subjects, in pardoning me from their hearts, prayed for my safe return. As it was impossible for all the people to assemble at one spot, the following proclamation asking for pardon was issued :—

"PROCLAMATION.

DATED THE 2ND RAJAB 1321 HIJRA.

To

ALL INHABITANTS OF BHOPAL TERRITORY.

Just as the Glorious Creator of the two worlds, when exalting some of his creatures more than others, has imposed on the ruled the duty of obedience and good-will towards the ruler, so He has

bound the ruler and made him responsible for performing his duty to those over whom He rules, and has assigned to each His different duties. To pardon with one stroke of his pen (breaches of) the innumerable duties owed to Him is but a trifling manifestation of the mercy and forgiveness of the All-Merciful Pardoner. But the extreme justice of that True Judge does not admit even of His shutting His eyes to any infringement of our duties to our people until those infringements have been forgiven us. Ever since we assumed the administration of the State, we have exerted ourselves, as far as possible, in promoting with sympathy the interests of our beloved subjects, and it has been our constant effort to promote their comfort and welfare by such measures as lay in our power. Still, humanly speaking, no one who has a just disposition can feel confident that he has discharged his duties befittingly, or that he has not unconsciously caused injury by oversight or neglect.

As it is our fixed determination to go on the holy pilgrimage and, God willing, we shall sail

on the first week of the glorious month of Shaaban, and, as it is essential that the mutual discharge of personal obligations should precede any other virtuous undertaking, we remind all our people of our duties as a ruler and our rights as a Sovereign, and we request them through this publication, and order all our State officials to request them, of their goodness of heart and human sympathy to forgive us any infraction of their rights of which we may have, unwittingly or otherwise, been guilty in order that we may acquit ourselves of obligations to our subjects, and so obtain ease of conscience with assurance of heart. If our life is spared, we shall, God willing, return after five months and devote ourselves again to the task of promoting the comfort, welfare, and general good of our subjects. We earnestly trust that all our well-disposed subjects and servants will sincerely pray to God for the forgiveness of our sins, the acceptance of our pilgrimage, and our safe return. We now entrust our subjects and servants to the divine care of that King of Kings who is the Creator, King, Guardian, and Protector of every living creature.''

"SECOND GENERAL PROCLAMATION.

DATED THE 24TH RAJAB 1321 HIJRA.

Thanks be to God whose grace and bounty alone have given me the power to undertake a pilgrimage to the two holy shrines (May they gather greater lustre and glory). God willing, I shall embark in the first week of the glorious month of Shaaban in the current year. It is well known to everyone that ever since the King of Kings has placed the reins of administration in my hands, I have always regarded my subjects as my best beloved and have, as far as possible, performed the duty of looking after them, alleviating their sufferings, listening to their complaints, and doing them justice as being more important than my own comfort and ease. It has always been my object to study the well-being and happiness of those over whom I rule. I am not, however, fully satisfied that I have altogether fulfilled my duty in regard to those whom God has committed to my care. Although God is the forgiver of sins and it is one of the manifestations of His divine power to overlook the transgressions of His servants, for which reason I trust in His boun-

teous grace and mercy to pardon all my faults, especially when I am starting on a journey, which is a means of forgiveness and salvation, still that true and just Judge only closes his eyes when his servants pardon the transgression of their rights. I therefore make a general appeal to all that they will have regard to my efforts and endeavours that I have made to serve them and that any whom I have consciously or unconsciously injured will pardon me my fault, and that all will, with true hearts and pure minds, pray to God that this long journey by sea and by land may come to a satisfactory end, and that we may return to them in safety."

Kharitas couched in similar terms were addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. Copies of these Kharitas are given below :—

Copy of a Kharita dated the 5th October 1903, from H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal to H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Perhaps it is not unknown to the well-informed Government how with devotion and loyalty to the Paramount Power I have worked

diligently for the last 2 years and 4 months of my rule—labouring night and day with sustained drain on my brain for the welfare and amelioration of my subjects and the good administration of my State. Now, when I have already made arrangements for a journey to the Sacred House of God, and, God willing, I shall sail from Bombay by the end of October of the current year, I consider it desirable to solicit the British Government to forgive any shortcoming which for human weakness might have been unconsciously committed by me. If the thread of life remains intact, and, with the mercy of Almighty God, I return safe, I shall pass my remaining days like my ancestors in loyalty to and in co-operation with the Government, as well as in performing my duties towards my State and my subjects. Else, in other case, I leave all my three children under the protection of the Real Protector and in the care of the British Government. I hope the benign Government will not, for my and my ancestor's sake, withhold from them the honour and dignity they have a right to, and that their welfare and prosperity will always receive a favourable consideration at the hands of Gov-

ernment. I, however, make a similar request for the forgiveness of my faults to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor (may his empire last long) and Your Excellency individually. I hope Your Excellency will be so kind as to fall in with my request and oblige me by forwarding my prayer to H. M. the King-Emperor. I am going to leave behind me at Bhopal my infant grand-daughter, Birjis Jehan Begam, whose parents accompany me in my pilgrimage, and I hope the Government will take every care of the said Sahibzadi who is the daughter of my second son, Sahibzada Hafiz Obaidullah Khan Bahadur.

Copy of a Kharita dated the 13th Rajab 1321 A. H., corresponding to the 5th of October 1903, from H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal to the Hon'ble Mr. Bayley, the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

It is not unknown to the well-informed British officers under what drain on my brain for the welfare and amelioration of my subjects, and with what night and day labour for the good administration of my State, and with how much loyalty to and co-operation with the mighty Government, I have passed the last 2 years and 4 months of my rule. Now, when I have already completed my preparations for a journey to the

Sacred House of God, and, God-willing, will embark from Bombay by the end of October of the current year, I have deemed it necessary to solicit the British Government to forgive my shortcomings which might have been due to my human frailty. If life is spared to me and the Cherisher of the world brings me back safe from my travel, I shall pass the remainder of my life like my loyal ancestors, in co-operating with and in loyalty to the Government as well as in performing my duties due to my State and my subjects. Otherwise, I leave all my three children under the protection of the Real Protector and in the care of the British Government. I hope from the kindness, favour and leniency of the Government that it will not, in consideration of myself and my ancestors, withhold from them the honour and dignity they deserve, and that it will pay an attention to their well-being and prosperity. While soliciting pardons I make the same request to H. M. the King-Emperor, H. E. the Viceroy of India and to you individually. I hope you will concede to my request and oblige me by forwarding my prayers to H. E. the Viceroy of India and to His Gracious

Majesty the King-Emperor (may his empire last long). I have no mind to take up with me Sahebzadi Birjis Jehan Begam, my grand-daughter. I hope my friend, Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, will, in deference to my wishes, see her often and take care of her.

Copy of a Kharita dated Simla, the 22nd October 1903, from His Excellency Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam of Bhopal.

I have received your Highness' letter of 5th October 1903, in which you inform me of your approaching departure from India on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Your Highness may rest assured that your devotion and loyalty to the British Empire have always been highly appreciated, and I trust that after your Highness has accomplished your pious undertaking I shall in due time hear of your safe return to India.

Your message will be duly communicated to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, for the information of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a Kharita in reply to mine, of which the following is a translation:—

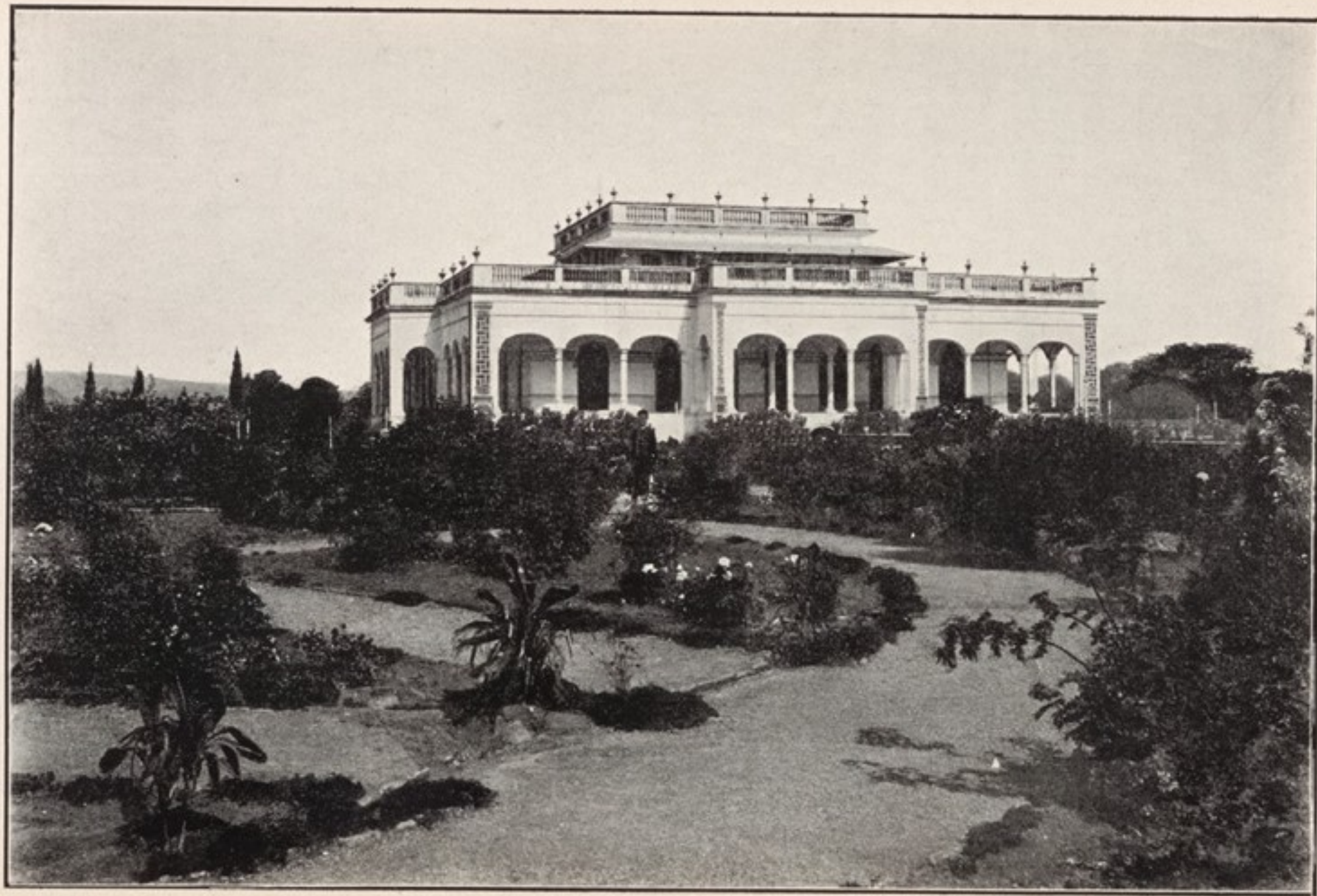
Pilgrims from India have to undergo quarantine at two places. The first quarantine takes place at the port of embarkation, the reason being that the existence of plague in India is known throughout the world, and it is feared lest piously disposed Indians in an excess of religious enthusiasm may travel in a dangerous state of health, and thus either run the risk of being sent back from the Turkish quarantine, or if they are not sent back, spread infection to other places. The second quarantine takes place at Kamran, where a universal quarantine camp is established under international agreement with a view to safe-guarding the health of all countries.

As the quarantine at Kamran has been insisted upon by most of the European powers, in view of certain special necessities, I could not have possibly looked forward to any personal concession or interference on my behalf in this respect on the part of either the British or the Turkish Government. Nevertheless, I was accorded exceptional treatment by both Governments, for

which my best thanks are due to them. As regards the first quarantine, the British Government, as a mark of special distinction, decided that it would suffice if I and my followers were segregated for ten days at some distance from Bhopal City, and that detention in Bombay was unnecessary. In regard to the quarantine at Kamran, the Turkish Government had agreed, at the request of the Government of India, to exempt us, provided that special sanitary arrangements were observed during the journey by rail and steamer. The Board of Health at Constantinople had also no objections to urge. However, before my departure, plague broke out in Bhopal and the second quarantine accordingly became necessary. Nevertheless, I received a certain amount of favour here too in that, instead of undergoing detention at Kamran, it was arranged that our steamer should be quarantined at Bú Saíd—a beautiful island situated some two or three miles from Jeddah—and I had the choice of passing the period of quarantine on boardship or on land. Notwithstanding these measures, the Government of India did not forego its representations and made further

efforts in the matter. I accordingly deemed it advisable, in pursuance of the wishes of Government, to keep little more than 100 persons with me as my immediate companions and to send the rest on to the village of Dip, situated at a distance 12 miles south of Bhopal on the railway—to undergo detention for ten days in an open camp according to the quarantine rules. Khan Bahadur Munshi Inayat Husain, Officiating Nasir-ul-Muham, and Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg, Commanding the Victoria Lancers, were placed at the head of this party and were required to act in conformity with the regulations laid down by me on the subject. This caravan left Bhopal on the 26th Rajab 1321 (18th October 1903), and on the morning of the 27th Rajab (19th October), the Mir-i-Kafila inspected them all. I fixed the quarantine camp for myself and followers at the Nishat Afza and Hayat Afza gardens, both of which are situated two miles north of Bhopal. The former of these gardens dates from the time of my mother, who has found mercy, and the latter, which lies close to it to the south, was laid out by me. By reason of its healthy surroundings

and outlying situation this spot was well adapted for a quarantine camp, and the Medical Officers could not but approve of it. These gardens contain sufficient buildings and they have open grounds where tents can be pitched while the strong outer walls render much protection unnecessary. Parda arrangements can also be satisfactorily carried out.

On the 27th of Rajab 1321 Hijra (19th October 1903), after morning prayer I proceeded to the gardens from the Sadr Manzil accompanied by the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib and Mian Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Sahib and my daughter-in-law, Shahryar Dulhan Sahiba. The persons who are to undergo quarantine with me had already arrived. I took up my quarters with the two Sahibzadas and all the women in the Nishat Afza gardens while the men remained in the Hayat Afza. A single wall divides the two gardens, and there is a door for communication. Outside the gardens, a temporary State post office was opened for the conveyance of correspondence. I continued to do the State work as usual all the time that I was in quaran-

HAYAT-AFSA GARDEN.

tine. Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur and other prominent high officials of the State had permission to visit me, while I remained in Bhopal in order to take instructions and confer with me as to matters of importance.

The Lady Doctor, Miss Maclaren, inspected the women, and Major Macwatt inspected the men daily. The inmates of the quarantine camp at Dip were inspected by Major Macwatt and Colonel Weir, who visited the camp for this purpose from time to time. The quarantine regulations were thus properly observed and the prescribed period of ten days came to a satisfactory close. On the 20th of October 1903 I addressed to Major L. Impey, Political Agent, Bhopal, a letter of which the following is a copy :—

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 20th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

In continuation of your letter No. 80C., dated the 18th instant, I write with great pleasure to inform you that all my proposals through your kindness have been settled very satisfactorily. Now only one thing remains for which I trouble

you. It is this, that there is a large number of male and female followers with me in the garden under quarantine. When the period of quarantine is over we shall require carriages and cars to take us and our luggage to the Railway station, and I shall be obliged to send for conveyances from the city which, I fear, may not be consistent with the quarantine regulations. I wish therefore that my special train may be brought on the B.-U. Railway line, opposite and close to my garden, and, as my special train is timed to leave Bhopal at 22-55, there will be no fear of any other train running on that line at that hour.

This arrangement will obviate the necessity of my sending for carriages and carts from the city as people will be able to walk up to the special. If you approve of this, you will kindly write to the General Traffic Manager, Bombay, to arrange for my special in the said manner. In case this arrangement be not feasible kindly let me know if I can keep my carriages and carts with me in quarantine and properly disinfect them. I should like to know soon which course to be adopted, as only 8 days remain for my departure,

and so the sooner the question is settled the better. I shall also ask Major Macwatt as to what he thinks about it.

I was glad to hear from Nawab Nasrullah Khan that you have been permitted to go with me to Bombay. Please let me know whether you will travel with me or proceed to Bombay a couple of days in advance as first intended. If you like to travel with me kindly let me know if one first class compartment will be sufficient for you. There will be one first class carriage with my special. I propose one compartment for you and the other for Major and Mrs. Macwatt. If one compartment be not sufficient kindly ask General Traffic Manager, Bombay, for another first class carriage to be attached to my special.

Kindly forward the accompanying letter to Mr. Bosanquet and oblige.''

In reply to the above the following letter was received from Major Impey on the 21st October 1903 :—

Copy of a letter No. 84C., dated Bhopal, the 21st October 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

In accordance with your Highness' letter, dated the 20th October, I have written to the

General Traffic Manager to enquire whether the special train can on the night of the 28th instant be brought close to the garden palace. It is possible that the Railway authorities may not approve of the proposal in which case it would be well to have the carriages disinfected the day before your Highness leaves. Should the Railway Officials agree it will be necessary to have the place, where the train will stand, lighted up with lamps, and I should be inclined to advise Your Highness to forbid the attendance of all persons who are not travelling by the special, so as to prevent confusion, and your own suite meeting people who have been exposed to infection.

I propose to leave for Bombay on the evening of the 27th instant, so as to see the *Akbar* on the 28th, and ascertain whether proper arrangements have been made for your Highness."

Shortly after a letter from the General Traffic Manager of the G. I. P. Ry. was received informing me that my special train will be brought close to my quarantine camps to receive me.

Copy of a letter No. 88C., dated Bhopal, the 25th October 1903, from Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter, dated the 22nd October, the General Traffic Manager, G. I. P. Ry., has agreed to the special train being brought in front of your garden palace on the night of the 28th instant. He states that a charge of Rs. 10 extra for engine power per hour or part of an hour will be made.

I have had a telegram from Colonel Weir to say that he has inspected the *Akbar* and found it clean and sanitary.

Copy of a letter dated Bhopal, the 15th October 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

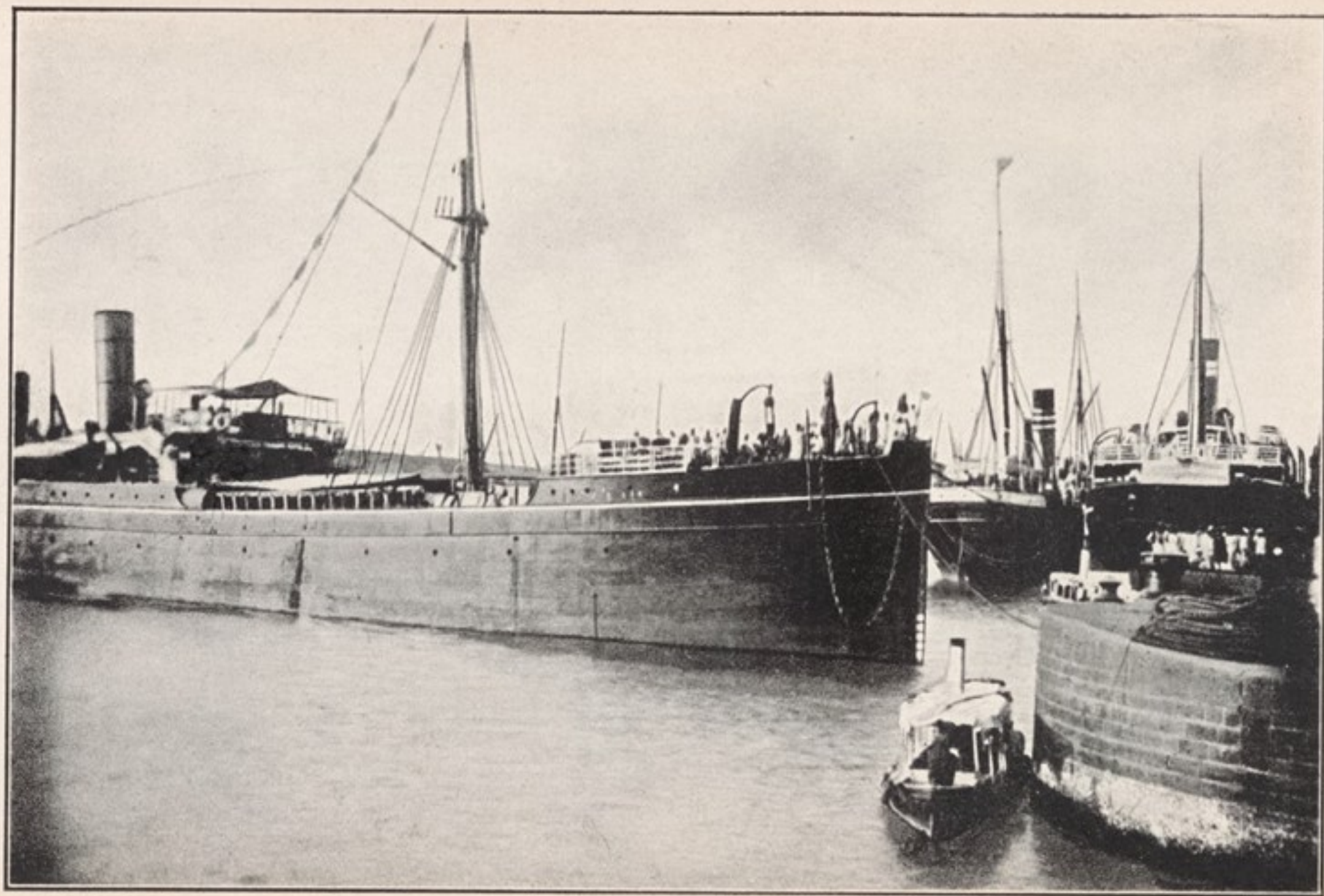
"I have just heard from the General Traffic Manager, G. I. P. Ry., Bombay, that it has been arranged that three third class carriages and one luggage van will be kept ready for my followers at Dip on the morning of the 28th October, in order to have the heavy luggages loaded in the day time. My special will leave Bhopal on the same date at 20-40 P.M. At Dip the carriages reserved for my followers will be attached to my

special, and I expect to reach Bombay, Wadi Bunder, on Friday, 30th October, at 7 in the morning.

As my arrival in Bombay will be public, I hope you will kindly arrange for the guard-of-honour and salute of guns."

In accordance with this letter arrangements had already been made to provide on the morning of the 28th October, one luggage van and three third-class carriages at the railway station at Dip, for the inmates of the quarantine camp and their luggage. These persons were to enter the carriages beforehand with their luggage and await the arrival of my special train at Dip, at 10-40 A.M., when their carriages would be attached to the train and persons travelling in higher classes would take their respective berths. Major Impey had left for Bombay a day previously, and Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur had also followed him by the mail train which preceded my special by a few hours. Arrangements had already been made for sending on some of the principal members of my suite to reach Bombay on the 28th October 1903, in order to see that all the luggage was properly

stowed away in the steamer. For this purpose several notables, constituting the Managing Committee, had been deputed together with Munshi Israr Hasn Khan and they had acquitted themselves of their charge in a satisfactory manner. In accordance with the arrangements previously made, my special train which, under the quarantine rules, had been properly fumigated and disinfected, stood ready to receive me on the Bhopal-Ujjain Railway line towards the north of the Nishat Afza gardens, at midnight on the 6th Shaaban, 1321 Hijra, corresponding to the 28th October 1903. Putting my trust on God I got into the train with the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur and Hamidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, Shahryar Dulhan Sahiba, and all the persons who had undergone quarantine at the gardens. The train then started and stopped for a few minutes at the Bhopal Railway station to take Major and Mrs. Macwatt. Our next halt was at the Dip Railway station, where the inmates of the quarantine camp got into their carriages which stood ready to receive them and their luggage. These vehicles were

then attached to the special train and we soon started. I need hardly mention the subsequent halts *en route* made by the special train to meet railway requirements. Suffice it to say that it safely reached the Victoria station at Bombay at 7 A.M., on Friday, the 8th Shaaban 1321 Hijra, corresponding to the 30th October 1903. On the platform I was received by Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, Major L. Impey, the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Captain Goodridge, a number of European ladies and gentlemen, several officials of my State who had preceded me to Bombay, and certain Indian merchants. A guard-of-honour was also drawn up on the platform and presented arms as I alighted from the train, while a salute was fired by order of the Bombay Government. Some of the individuals presented me with garlands and bouquets. The S. S. *Akbar* chartered for my voyage was standing close to the platform. On alighting from the train I and my ladies were carried in palanquins to the ship where we embarked, and then the men came on board. The Political Agent and other European friends came on board to bid me

S. S. "AKBAR."

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farewell. The correspondence which had been going on for some time past between the British and Turkish Governments regarding the arrangements for my journey had not been completed up to the time of my departure from Bhopal, and several matters had not been finally settled. Accordingly at this last interview Major Impey informed me that I should probably be quarantined at Bu Saíd, but that full information would be furnished to me at Aden. After 12 noon the steamer left the wharf and anchored near the gates. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur came on board the ship to take leave of me. At 5 P.M. the vessel weighed anchor and having chanted the verse, بسم الله مجرها و مرسها "In the name of God one moors it (the barge) and sets it afloat,'' we left the shores of India with ejaculations of Labaik (Here am I). This was my first experience of a long sea voyage and during it I had opportunity to ponder over the broad expanse of the ocean.

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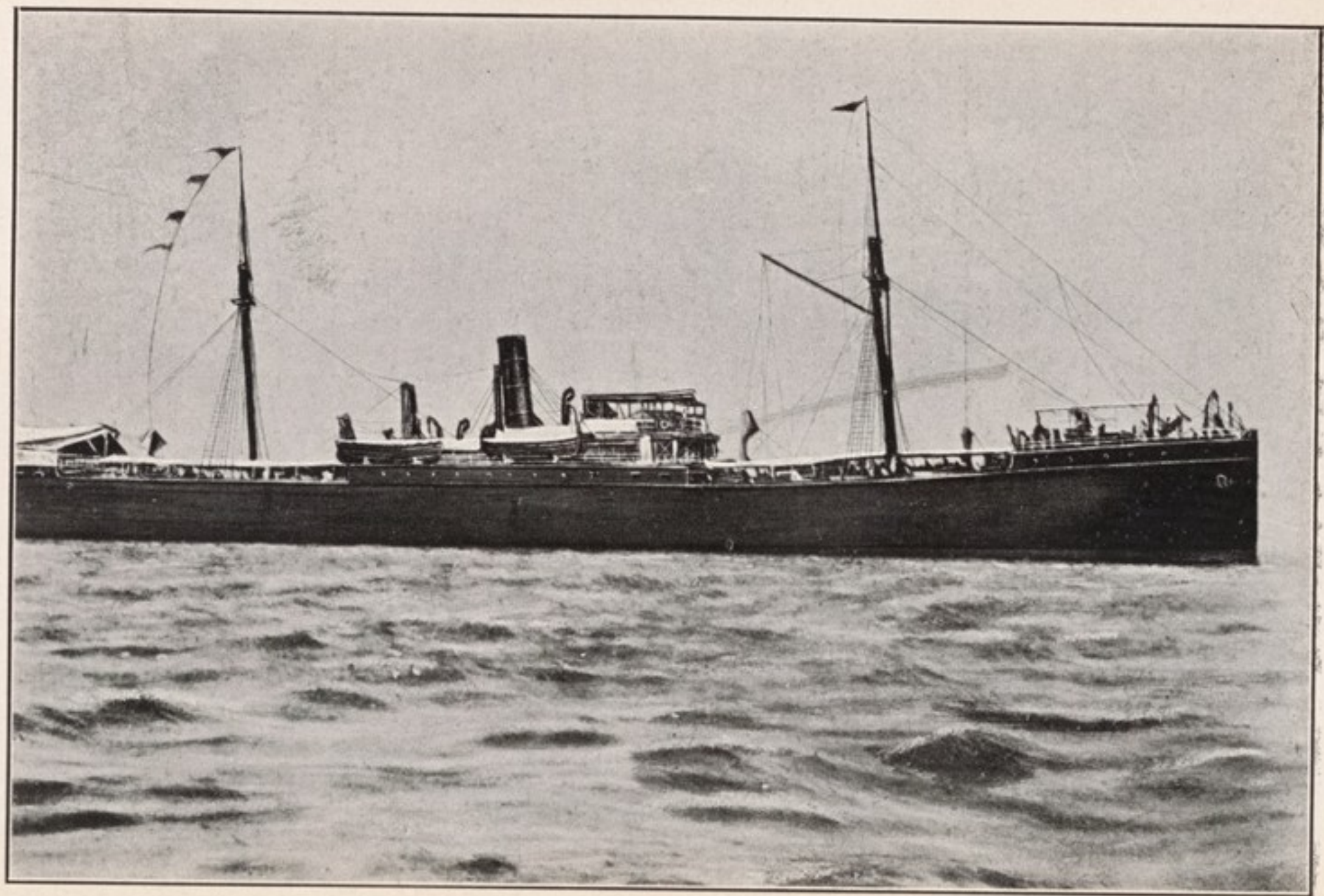
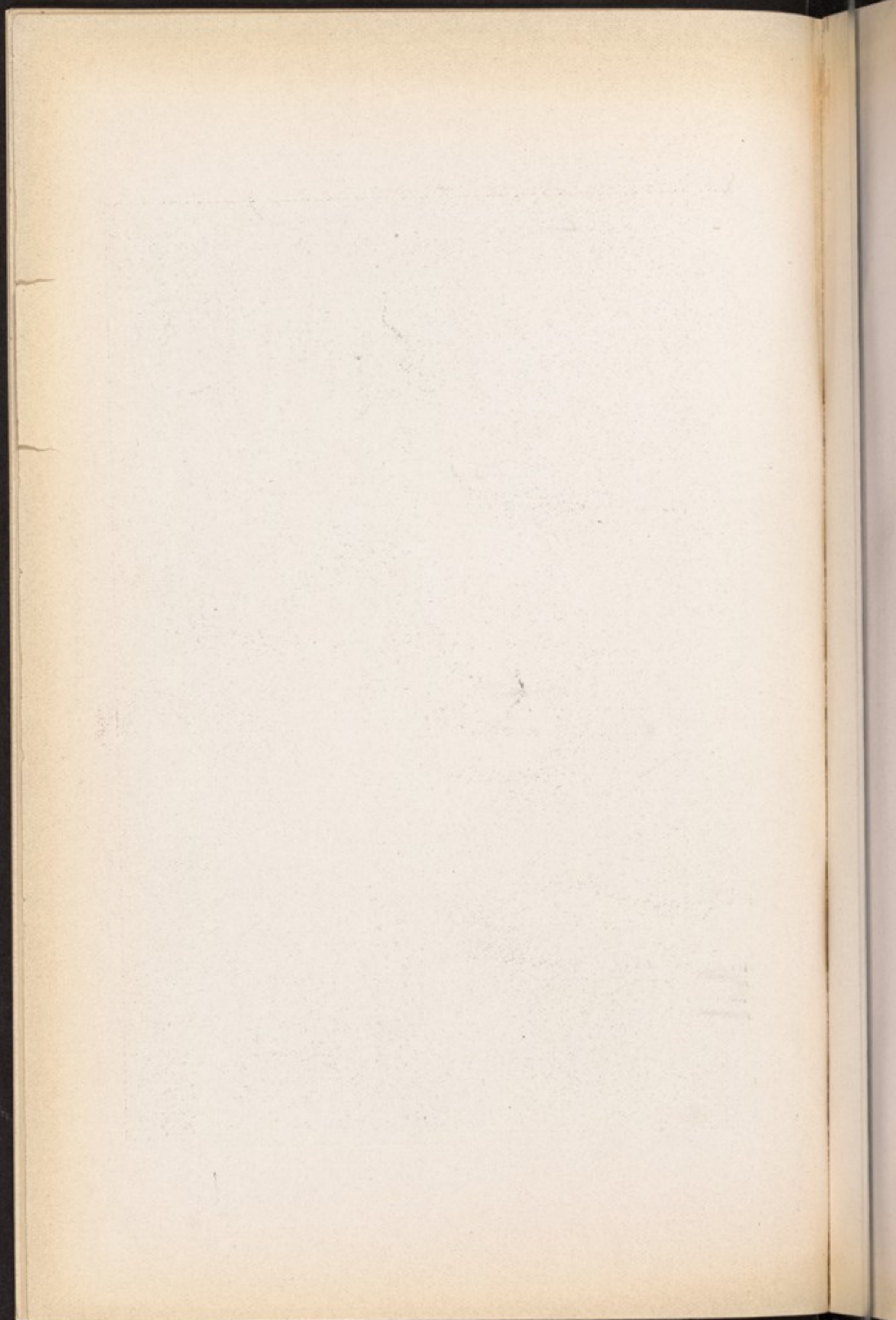
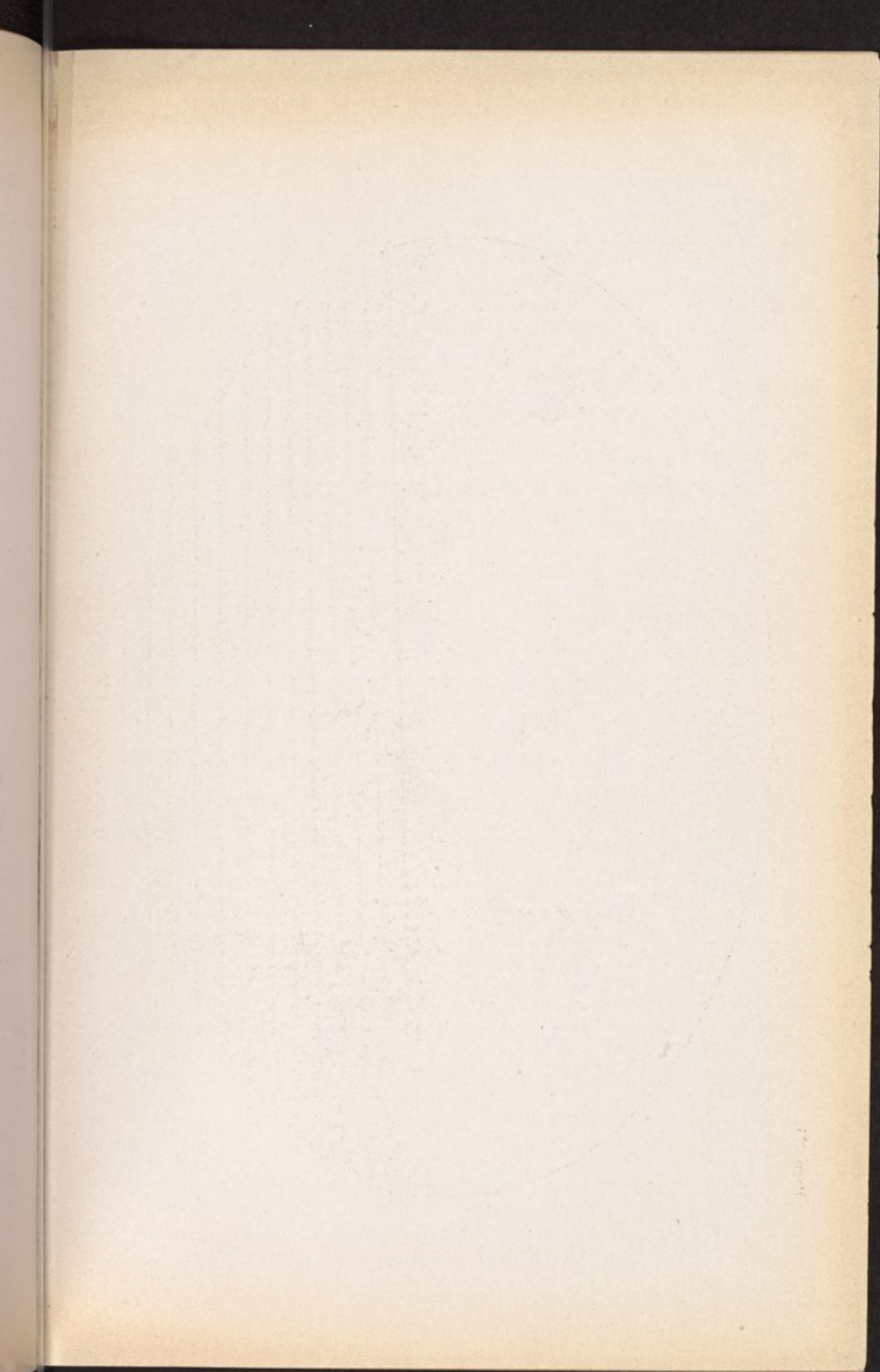
## CHAPTER III.

### Sea Voyage.

Sea sickness is the necessary incident of the initial stages of a journey by steamer. Thanks, however, to the excellent sanitary arrangements made in our ship, the suffering on this account was very slight and no one was much affected. The only exception was Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, whose heart was affected and who was sick. Major Macwatt's judicious treatment, however, checked the sickness, and in a day or two the Sahibzada was restored to complete health. I do not propose to discuss here the wonders of the sea mentioned in most books of travel which have become a matter of common knowledge. On the night of the 16th Shaaban 1321 Hijra, corresponding to the 7th November 1903, our ship anchored at Aden at 11 o'clock. In front of our ship was a steamer belonging to some German Prince, which was brilliantly illuminated. As long as this vessel remained in the harbour her beautiful lights proved a source

STEAMER CONVEYING A GERMAN PRINCE.

STEAMER CONVEYING TURKISH TROOPS.

of immense attraction and amusement to the crew of our ship, and even after she had got under way, her lights were visible for a long distance. As we reached Aden, a telegram from Mr. Devey, the Imperial Consul at Jedda, to the address of the Captain of the *Akbar* was received, intimating that the vessel was not to anchor at Kamran but to proceed straight to Jedda. The next morning Lieutenant-Colonel Monk, of the Indian Medical Service, came to examine the health of the passengers and was pleased with the result of his investigation. Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur expressed a desire to visit Aden, and Colonel Monk gladly granted permission. The Sahibzada accordingly went in a boat in company with Sahibzada Mian Hamidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg, Commanding the Victoria Lancers, Captain Muhammad Husain Khan and a few other persons. After about an hour they returned, thinking that on their return journey they would be able to explore the whole of the town. But on our homeward voyage, the Medical Officer would not let any

of our crew leave the ship for fear of infection from the cholera which generally attacks the Hijaz in the pilgrimage season. This year, however, no infectious diseases prevailed in the Hijaz, although the blessed coincidence of the Arafat day falling on a Friday had attracted an extraordinarily large concourse of pilgrims. Even the Meccans were surprised at this absence of sickness which they attributed to my auspicious visit.

Our steamer weighed anchor at 3 P.M. on the 17th of Shaaban, corresponding to the 8th November, and made straight for Jedda. On the night of the 11th November the Captain of the ship informed us that it would be inadvisable to arrive at Jedda at night and that consequently it was better that the steamer should cruise about all night and reach Jedda by day. As there was no island near at which we could anchor, we did not object, and the Captain carried out his idea, much to our discomfort. On Thursday, the 21st of Shaaban (12th November 1903), at 11 A.M., our ship cast anchor at Bu Saíd, where it was proposed that we should be quarantined. Bu Saíd and Jedda face one another, being

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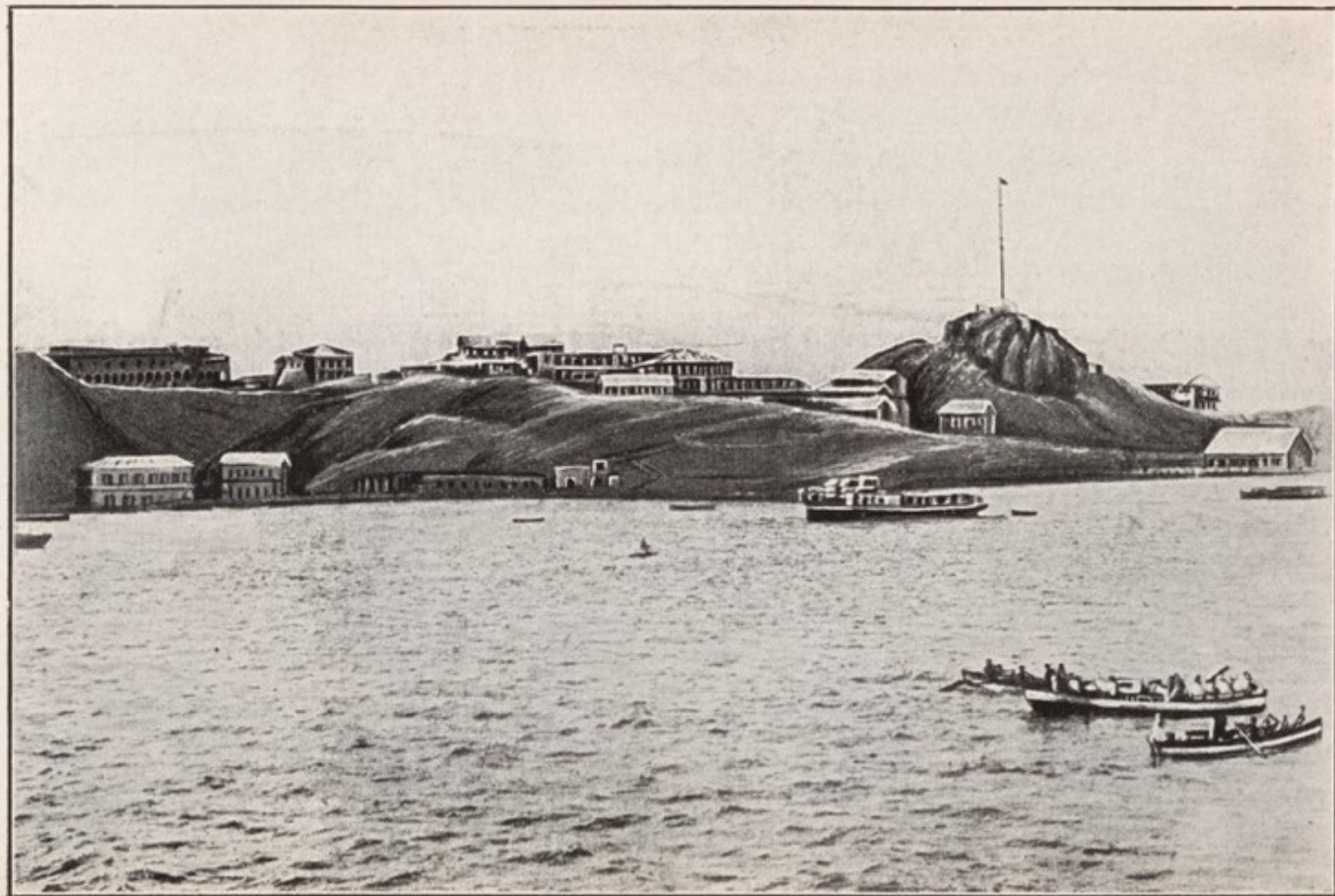
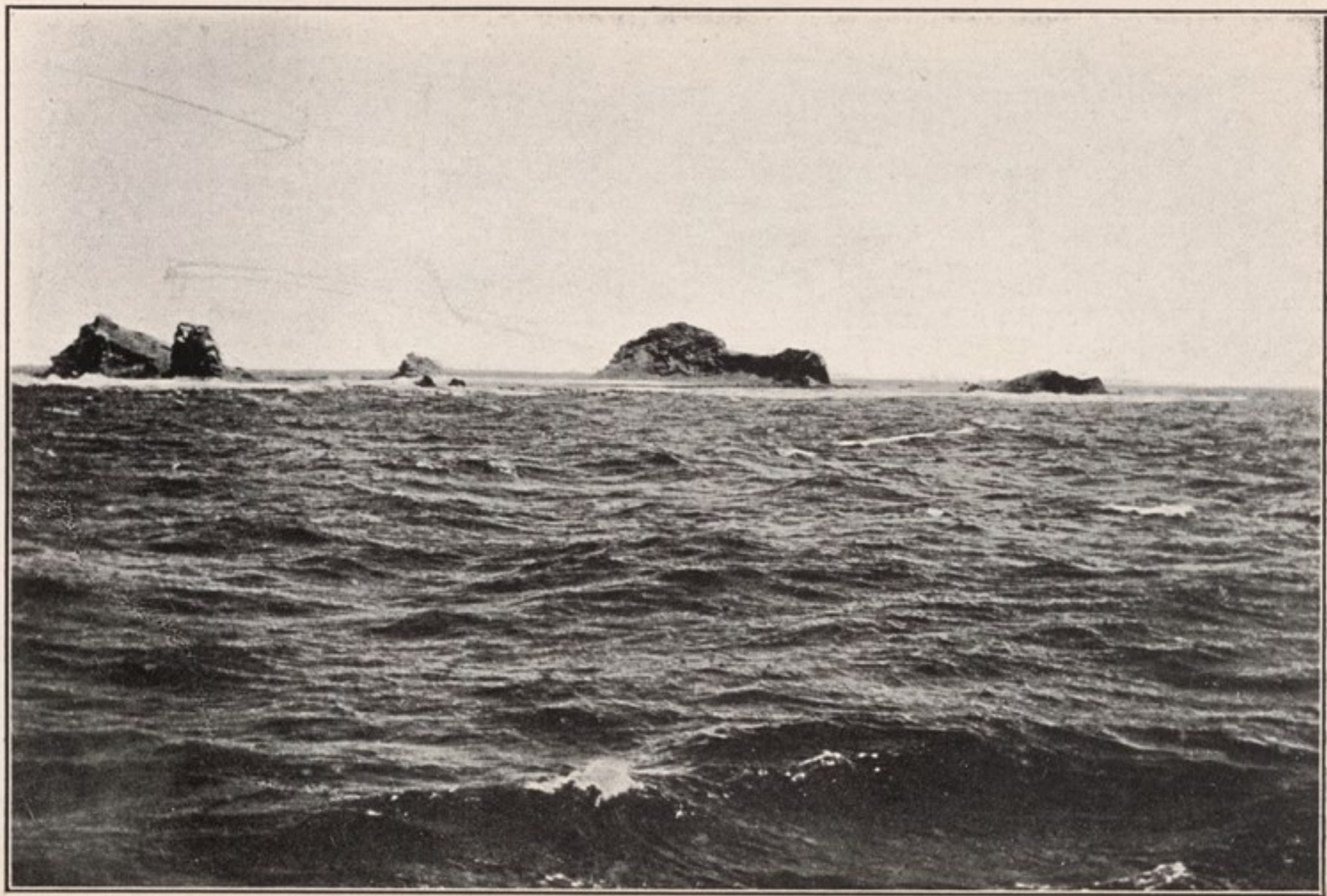

VIEW OF ADEN.

separated by a part of the Red Sea. Our ship was anchored nearer Jedda than Bu Saíd to facilitate the transportation of luggage, etc. As soon as our ship arrived, Abu Bakr Rashidi and Abdul Aziz brought us the holy water of *Zamzam* and other sacred gifts, and intimated that every one of the attendants at the Kaaba was anxious to act as our *Zamzami* (dispenser of the *Zamzam* water), but that the Sharif had announced his decision to confer the office upon any one who paid him 50 guiness. The Sharif thus amassed much money.

The same day, Khan Bahadur Doctor Muhammad Husain, British Vice-Consul, accompanied by the quarantine officer approached our ship in a launch and excused themselves from coming on board on the ground that the vessel was in quarantine. From the conversation that took place between them and Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur and Major Macwatt, it appeared that the Imperial Consul at Jedda had telegraphed to the authorities at Constantinople for our exemption from quarantine and that a favourable reply was shortly expected. The Vice-Consul

and his companion then returned to Jedda. The next day, which was a Friday, Mr. Devey, the British Consul at Jedda, called on us and after exchanging the usual civilities stated that as the health of our ship was satisfactory, he had moved the Sublime Porte by telegraph to forego the quarantine restrictions. Mr. Devey also gave us to understand that as soon as we saw a black flag hoisted over the Consulate we should know that sanction had been received. The reply from Constantinople, however, was so long delayed that our steamer had to pass six days in quarantine. At 6 o'clock on the evening of the seventh day, Sahibzada Muhammad Hamidullah Khan told me that people had seen the black signal flying over the Consulate. At 8 P.M., Major Macwatt received a letter from the Consul intimating that sanction had been received to exemption from quarantine. The men were now disembarked and fumigated. The women, however, were allowed to remain on board out of regard for me. After undergoing disinfection the men also returned to the ship. My followers were moreover exempted from those restrictions to which the generality of

In the Red Sea between Jeddah and Yembu.

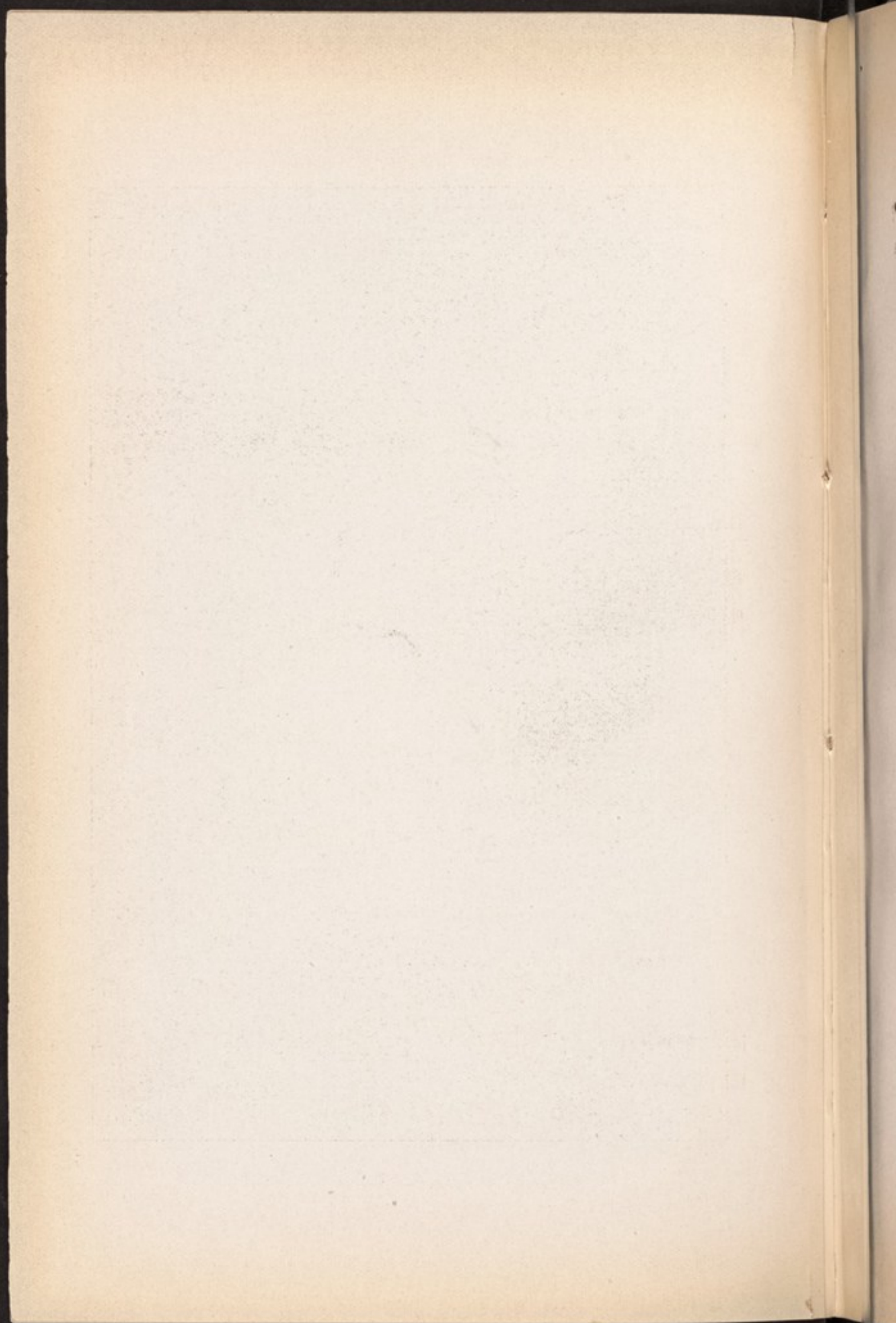
pilgrims are subjected. It had been decided to send on fifty men from Jedda to Mecca. So Hafiz Muhammad Abd-ur-Rahman, Superintendent of the State Stables, Hafiz Sayyid Ahmad, Tahsildar, and Muhammad Akil Khan, Superintendent of the Palace Stables, together with 47 men, proceeded direct to Jedda after undergoing disinfection, and did not return to the ship. As these persons had not been able to assume the *ihram*, they were provided by the State with victims for sacrifice. The Consul and the Vice-Consul came on board the ship at 9 o'clock, and I told them that it would be better if the steamer put to sea that day as the month of Ramzan would begin two days later, and I was anxious, if possible, to pass the month of fasting in Medina the Illustrious. They stated in reply that the Sharif wished me to visit Mecca first, after which he would make arrangements to have me safely escorted to Medina. I was, however, most anxious to pay a visit to the latter shrine. I knew that on the occasion of my deceased grand-mother's pilgrimage to Mecca, certain obstacles had arisen and such fearful

stories of the dangers besetting the journey were told as to prevent her from proceeding to Medina. Apprehension crossed my mind lest the same fate should befal me, and I accordingly informed the Consul and his Deputy that it was my intention to proceed to Medina before pilgrimage. the pilgrimage. I also told them that I had not assumed the pilgrim's dress at Yalamlam, without which I could not possibly enter the sacred precincts. Thereupon they informed me that the Sharif had sent his own litter for my conveyance in charge of four trustworthy personages, and they asked me what I had to say on this point. I thanked the Sharif for this kind solicitude and pointed out that, as I had brought out my own litter, there was no occasion for accepting the offer. I added, however, that, to mark my sense of gratitude, I would take with me the four noble persons whom the Sharif had deputed to escort me and the litter should be sent back. When I expressed my intention to proceed direct to Medina, the Vice-Consul repeatedly observed that such a step would annoy the Sharif, and his own manner indicated that he was ill at ease. This

may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact that the relations between him and the Sharif are very close. Shortly afertwards Ali Yamani Beg, Acting Governor of Jedda, his Deputy Faik Beg, a Medical Officer, and a Bim Bashi (Military Officer) called on me. Through the medium of the Vice-Consul, who acted as interpreter, the Governor enquired after my health and whether my voyage had been prosperous; and after the usual interchange of civilities informed me that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan had given express orders to the effect that I should be safely escorted, for which purpose a detachment of 700 Turkish troops with two guns was to be placed at my disposal. This detachment was to escort me from Yembu to Medina, and as His Majesty's orders would take effect from the date on which the period of quarantine expired and the troops would have started from Medina accordingly, they could not yet have reached Yembu. The Governor therefore suggested that I should take an escort of 200 troops from the Military force stationed at Jedda and supplement it by a similar number at Yembu. I agreed to this proposal but urged that the

proposed escort should be detailed as early as possible as our steamer would get under way during the course of the day, and I had to reach Medina before Ramzan. The Governor stated in reply that the arrangements should be made that day and I could sail the next day. I had perforce to give way and another day was spent in the Jedda harbour.

Next day at 4 P.M., Ahmad Effendi (kau Yuz Aghashi), Sulaiman Effendi (Agha Yuz Bashi) and Umar Effendi (Yuz Bashi), the principal officers, with 25 subalterns and 194 rank-and-file came in boats and were taken on board the *Akbar*, while the four emissaries from the Sharif with their followers, who numbered fifteen men, were also embarked. To facilitate matters it was arranged that an inventory should be prepared of such personal effects of my followers as were not absolutely necessary, and the property was then handed over for safe custody to the joint care of the Consul, the Vice-Consul, and Ahmad Basuni who receives an allowance from Bhopal. A sum of Rs. 5,000 to meet transport and other charges was deposited with the Vice-Consul. Hafiz Abd-ur-Rahman, Superintendent

TURKISH TROOPS ON THE MARCH AFTER IED PRAYER. THE GOVERNOR OF MEDINA STANDING IN THEIR MIDST.

of the State Stables, who had been appointed Leader of the Caravan, was instructed to see that the property in question was transferred to a secure place under the directions of the British Vice-Consul who had been entrusted with Rs. 5,000 to meet incidental expenses. He was moreover ordered to leave some of our troops to guard the property and, after defraying the necessary expenses in connection with transport and freight, etc., to march with his companions to Mecca. This measure was taken in view of my decision to return to Jedda *viâ* Yembu after visiting the holy Medina, and from there to proceed to Mecca. With regard to the *Akbar* the agreement was, that she should bring us as far as Yembu and on the return journey take us back to India from Jedda. When therefore the British Consul called on me, I requested him to kindly arrange for a whole steamer for me from Yembu to Jedda on my return voyage. He promised to make the necessary arrangements and let me know the result. In this connection I must acknowledge the courtesy and kindness of Mr. Devey and thank him for his help and co-operation.

As the Consul, the Vice-Consul, and the Governor had called on me, courtesy required a return visit. It was, however, exceedingly difficult for me as a traveller to return the civility in person. I accordingly sent Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, and Sahibzada Mian Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, to pay the return visit on my behalf. They were met on the way by the Consul and the Governor who also accompanied them back to the ship. When these gentlemen took leave of us to return to Jedda, the two Sahibzadas accompanied by Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg, the second-in-command Muhammad Hussain Khan and a suitable escort, proceeded to the town where they returned the visits of the Consul and the Vice-Consul. Subsequently with the Consul they returned the visit of the Governor. A detachment of Turkish troops on guard at the Government House saluted the Sahibzadas according to custom. The Turkish equivalent for the term "Present arms" is *Salam dar*. While the Sahibzadas and their suite were at the Government House, the Turkish

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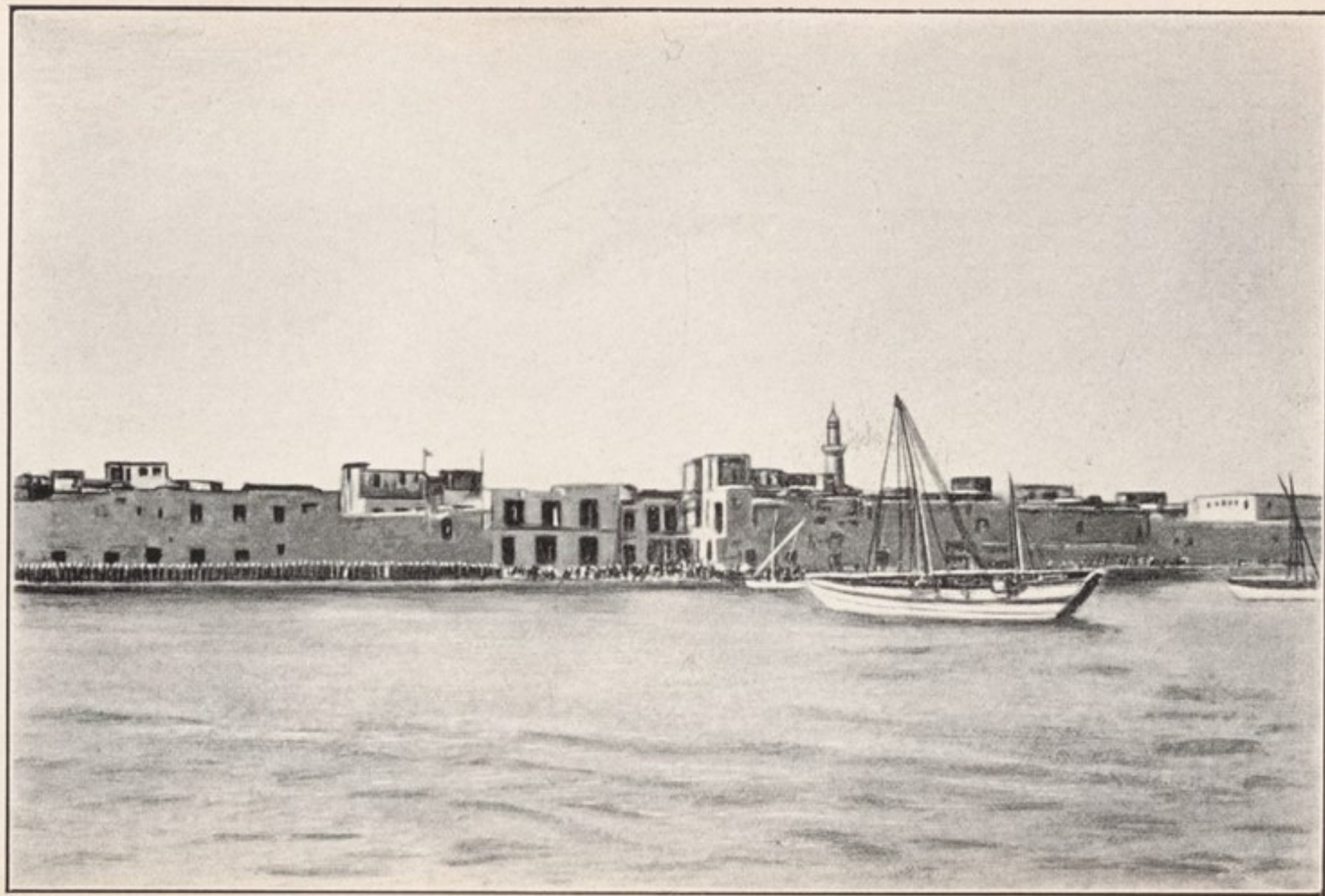
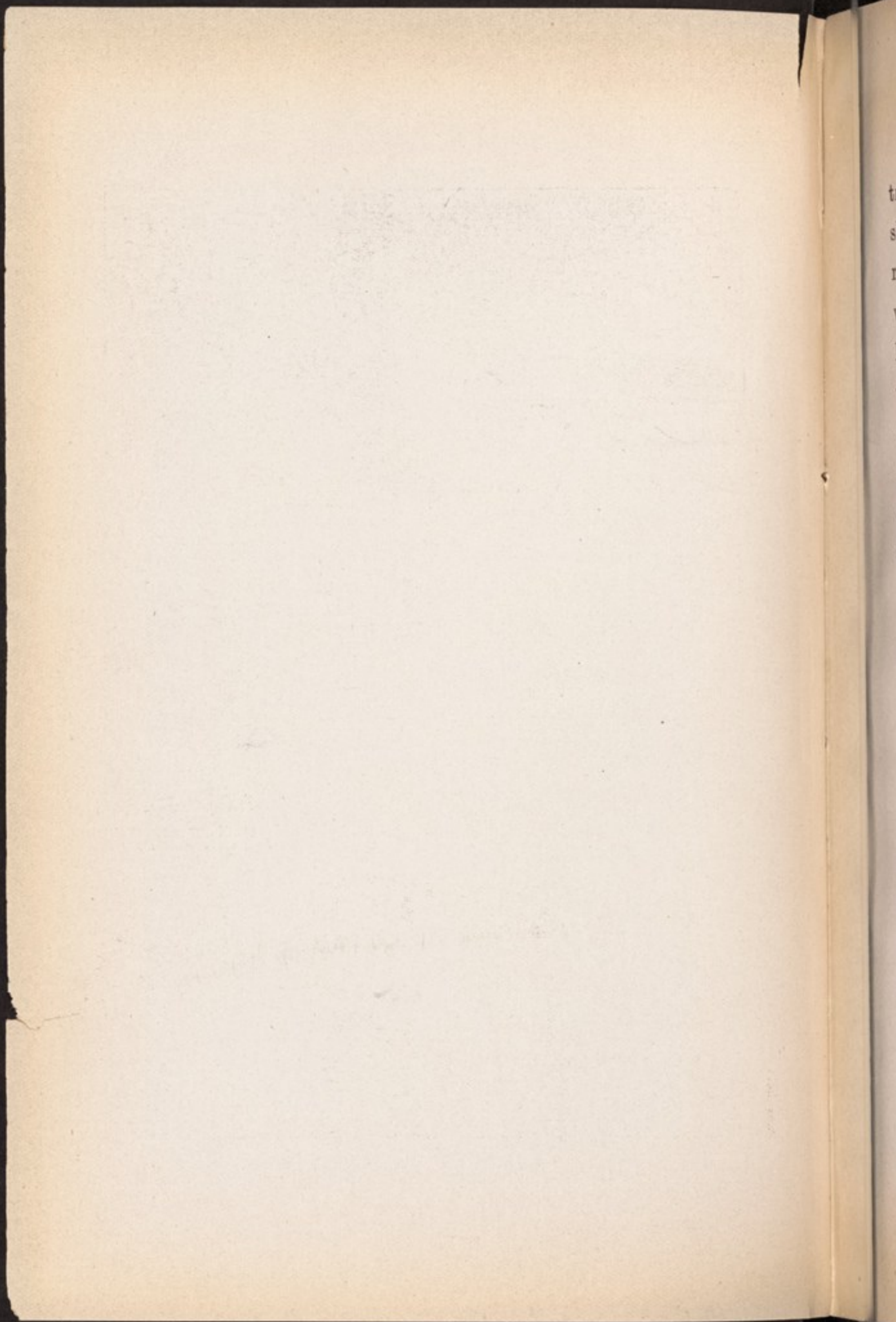

PORT OF YEMBU.

troops for the escort were on their way to our ship in marching order. At the Governor's request the Sahibzadas inspected these troops which marched past. Later on Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur told me that the training of these troops did not seem to him as good and regular as that of the Indian army, because they did not keep step as a trained force ought to do. After this the Sahibzada returned to the ship.

At noon, on Friday, the 29th of Shaaban 1321 Hijra (20th November 1903), our steamer put to sea, and after a twenty-four hours' voyage reached the port of Yembu at midday on the 1st Ramzan. On our leaving Jedda the wind was so strong and the sea so high that there was almost a storm. The passengers began to show signs of sickness. Sahibzada Mian Hamidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur was moreover suffering from fever and this added to my anxiety.

On reaching Yembu, we found that notice of our departure and arrival had not been received, so there were no arrangements for our reception, etc. At the sight of our steamer,

however, the Turkish officers promptly mustered their troops and had a guard-of-honour drawn up on the shore. Saadatlu Mustafa Effendi Farhat Pasha, the Governor of Yembu, also appeared. Owing to indisposition and fatigue we made up our minds not to land till the evening. Accordingly I sent word to Farhat Pasha, informing that, as it would be some time before we disembarked, he might allow the troops to go back to their lines to save them from discomfort. The troops, however, would not listen to such a proposal and replied that, being commanded by their august Sovereign the Sultan to attend upon me, they would remain on the spot till such time as I required their services to escort me to my abode, and that I need not think of their inconvenience.

The deputation which had preceded us to Medina with Maulvi Azam Husain had reached its destination with the result that a swarm of irregular people came from Medina to meet us. The news of our visit had induced the following gentlemen from Medina to repair to Yembu to

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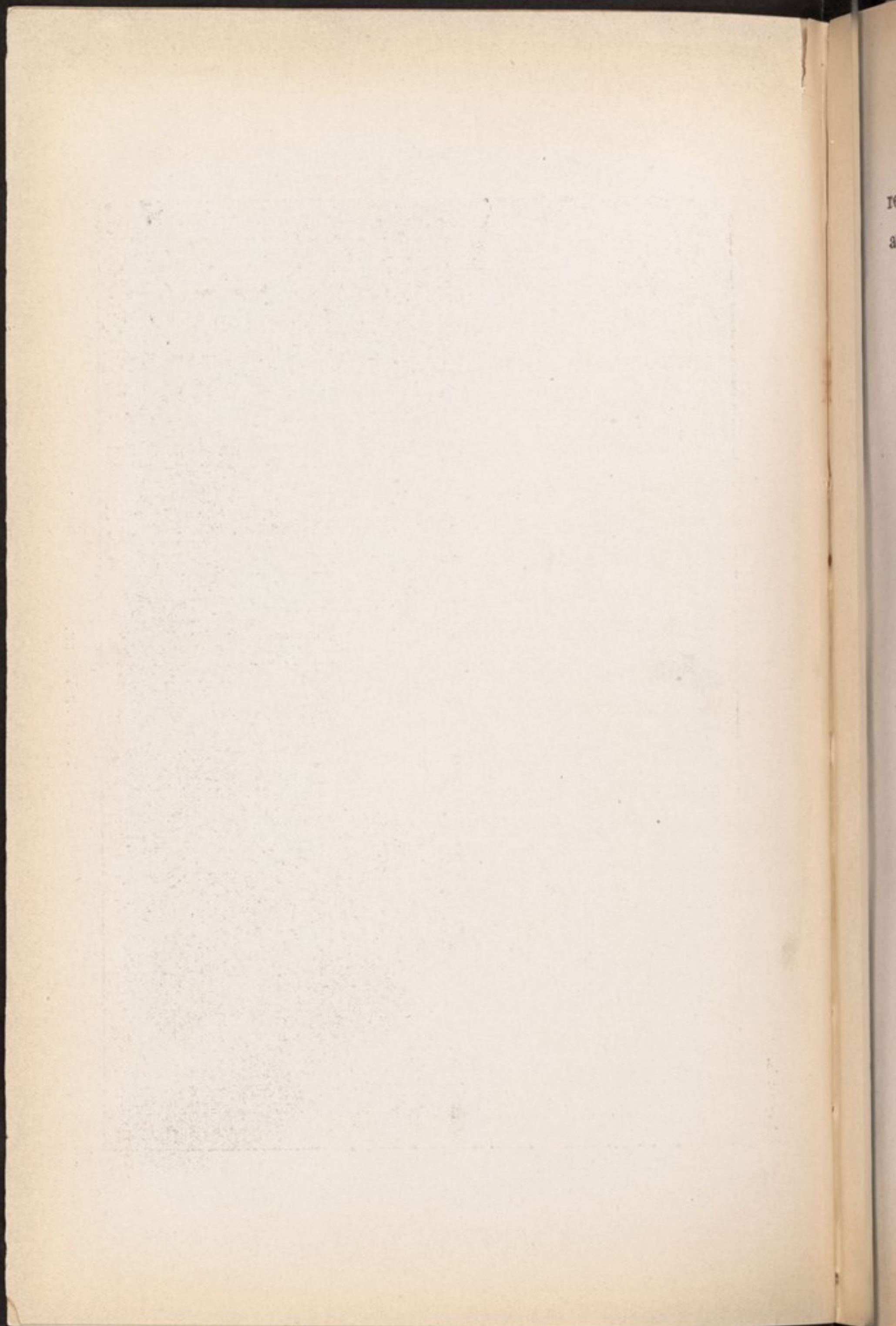
Town of Yembu.

receive us, and they had been awaiting our arrival for a month:—

Shaikh Muhammad Said Hawala, accompanied by 15 Sayyads, besides attendants.

Shaikh Abd-ur-Rahman Ilayas, of Medina, with 13 Sayyads, besides attendants.

Sharif Sayyid Abdullah, Amir of Juhaina, with 18 Sayyads.

Shaikh Nissar Zahiri, with 15 Sayyads.

Shaikh Khalf, brother of Shaikh Khalil, the headman of Ahamida, with 20 Sayyads.

These gentlemen came on board the ship to visit me, and after salutation and enquiring for my health plied us with questions concerning our voyage. It being the first day of Ramzan, these people asked whether I was keeping the fast. To this question an answer in the negative was given as, being travellers, we were exempt from fasting.

Sayyid Ali Tahir Vatri, who has been in receipt of an allowance from the Bhopal State from the time of my mother of blessed memory, had brought a litter for my conveyance. As I had my own litter with me there was no occasion for this one. Out of regard, however, for the kindness which had prompted this offer I thought it a pity that his litter should not be

used; so it was kept for the use of my son Sahibzada Mian Hamidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur. All the while that these personages remained on board the ship I conversed with them through Maulvi Azam Husain, who acted as interpreter, on the subject of the security of the journey lying before me.

Maulvis Azam Husain, Zul-fi-kr Ahmad, Inayatullah, and Shukri Effendi were already at Yembu, where they had rented a house for Rs. 600 near the sea coast.

The time now came for us to land. A parda-boat arranged by the Captain of our ship under the supervision of Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, was brought to the side of the ship. I and Shahryar Dulhan Sahiba took our seats in the covered part of the boat while the other part was occupied by the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib, Mian Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Sahib, and Major Macwatt. As we reached the shore, the port battery fired a salute of 21 guns and the Turkish guard-of-honour drawn up along the shore presented arms. My travelling palanquin was now brought forward and I

got into it with Shahryar Dulhan. The bearers raised the palanquin with the help of some other men and conveyed us to the door of the house where we took up our quarters.

The Officer-in-Charge of the Turkish troops escorting us told Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, that in accordance with Turkish military custom it was usual for a Chief or Noble who had been formally saluted by the troops to review them immediately afterwards. He suggested therefore that I should take my seat at some place whence I should be able to review them after which they would proceed to their quarters. So I posted myself at one of the windows of the house. From this place I was able to command a view of the entire troops which I reviewed in military fashion. When the salute is not a formal and military one, and a person makes an individual salute, he does it by placing his hand upon his breast, kissing the palm of the hand, and raising it to its brow. This mode of salutation, which does not entail bowing, is very graceful and is practised in the courts of the Turkish Nobles.

On this occasion Major Macwatt made a stirring speech, probably at the instance of our Supreme Government. The import of this oration was that every step taken by the Turkish Government to promote the comfort of Her Highness the Begam would tend to cement the friendly relations existing between the two powers. In reply, the Turkish officers reassuringly observed that they would do their best to serve the Begam and make every possible effort to save her from all inconvenience.

Although my own troops were sufficient for guard duty, yet a Turkish guard was detailed for the purpose as a special mark of distinction. Mustafa Beg, known as Farhat Pasha, sent a gift consisting of water from Medina and some pomegranates and dates, which I accepted.

The next day Major and Mrs. Macwatt returned to Jedda in the *Akbar*. I stopped at Yembu for five days to make arrangements for transport and conveyance. The Sharif's emissaries now began to demand money to meet their expenses. They were asked to draw up a list from which it appeared that they were as follows :—(1) Sharif Ahmad bin Mansur, (2) Sharif

Turkish Troops on the March.

Abdullah, (3) Shaikh Darwesh, (4) Shaikh-ul-Hobbash, (5) Shaikh Umar, (6) Shaikh Abd-ul-Hafiz, (7) Shaikh Hazim, (8) Sulaiman Hamasi, (9) Muhammad-ul-Uwaidi, (10) Ab-ul-Khair, (11) Mubarak, (12) eight attendants.

On the 3rd Ramzan I addressed a letter to Izzatlu Farhat Pasha, Governor of Yembu, of which the following is a translation :—

"You are aware that we are anxious to start for Medina at an early date, but cannot obtain camels. I therefore hope that you will kindly exert yourself with a view to procuring for us 200 camels on hire. The matter is urgent as the caravan must set out on its journey on Tuesday next."

Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur told me that he had heard from a reliable source that there were any number of camels in the neighbourhood, but that the Sharif's emissaries were purposely delaying in order to be able to make a bargain for the benefit of the camelmen of their own acquaintance, and to make money for themselves. We therefore asked for a number of camels far below our requirements and he allowed the people of

our caravan to make their own arrangements for hiring camels. The consequence was that camels hired through the Sharif's emissaries cost us 12 riyals a-piece, whereas 9 riyals was the average charge in the case of camels hired by our people privately. Owing to the influence of the Sharif's emissaries over the Bedouins, it was possible that the latter might repudiate their bargains, yet this did not happen because the Arabs always abide by an agreement once made.

Owing to the unexpected delay in procuring camels we could not leave Yembu till the 5th Ramzan or, according to the local date, the 6th. In the meantime 208 camels were hired and, as we meant to return by the same route, such belongings as seemed superfluous were entered in a list and left behind at Yembu in safe custody.

*N.B.*—My dates will now follow those kept at Yembu, which were those employed till our arrival at Medina.

On Thursday, the 7th Ramzan, at 12 noon, the caravan started from Yembu. On this occasion the Turkish commander called his

soldiers to attention and made them a speech to the following effect :—

"My children,—You know that the Begam of Bhopal is a Musalman, who has visited your land to perform the pilgrimage. It behoves you, therefore, to exert yourself to the utmost to serve, obey, and guard her. This is your Sultan's command. See that you acquit yourselves of the task entrusted to you in a proper manner. By the slightest shortcomings you will incur the displeasure of your Master and bring dishonour on your community."

The following troops escorted us from Yembu :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Arrivals from Medina ... ... | 53 |
| Subaltern officers ... ... | 3 |
| Rank and file ... ... ... | 50 |
| Troops from the Yembu garrison in addition to artillery ... ... | 63 |
| Bim Bashi ... ... ... | 1 |
| Sagh Qala Ghasi ... ... | 1 |
| Subaltern officers ... ... | 9 |
| Rank and file ... ... ... | 52 |
| Total | 232 |

I had been keeping the fast up to this date. At about 4 P.M. our caravan halted at Mahsali which lies on the top of a high hill. There is only one well here. Its water is muddy,

reddish, and unpleasant to the taste, though not to the smell. We had provided ourselves with an ample store of water at Yembu, which was used by both man and beast. The road lies for the most part across a level plain occasionally interspersed with rocky boulders. After the caravan had halted, the Turkish escort posted themselves and formed a cordon round the camp. Sentries with muskets were posted at distances of ten paces with their backs to the caravan, and provided with several rounds of ammunition. I with Shahryar Dulhan and the two Sahibzadas was accommodated in a tent which had been pitched for the purpose. At 9 P.M. according to military custom a gun was fired, after which no one from outside was allowed to enter the camp. We passed the night with great tranquility and comfort. When we were on the march, my litter was surrounded by the Bhopal State troops ; while the Turkish force formed the outer guard. Every four or five minutes the Turkish bugles sounded.

On Friday, the 8th Ramzan, at 7 A.M., our caravan set out in the same order and with the same precautions for safety as on the previous

day's march. The march was long but the greater part of our route lay across a plain. Some of the plains traversed by us struck Sahibzada Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur as eminently suited for polo if he had only brought his polo sticks with him. At one place the Sahibzada when galloping his horse met three wild Bedouins who answered his *Salam alaikum* (Peace be to you) with *walaikumi-s-Salam* (And on you be peace), and offered him bread, onions, and cheese. The Sahibzada began to eat these, as in Arabia a refusal to accept hospitality is resented as an insult. While he was eating the bread one of the Bedouins said "Allahu-latifunbi-ibadihi" (God is good to his servants). The Sahibzada promptly added the remaining portion of the verse: "Yazruku man yasha wa huwa-l-Kawiyyu-l-Aziz" (He feeds whomsoever He wishes; He is the Mighty and the Great). They said "What! are you a Hafiz" (one who can repeat the Quran by rote), and he answered "God be praised, I am a Hafiz." His hosts then put dates before him. While the Sahibzada was there, the people wondered where he had

gone and there was much cause for anxiety till he appeared a little later. Hilmi Effendi warned him in a friendly manner that Arabia was not India, where he could wander about freely, but that there were many perils and he ought to be careful. The Sahibzada said that he had been very kindly treated by these people, but he would be cautious in future.

At 9 P.M., we camped at Bir-i-Saíd. Guards were posted as usual. At gunfire the trumpet sounded and the sentries on duty mounted guard, while the others took off their belts and went to sleep.

The Shaikh of Bir-i-Saíd came to pay a visit and asked for a present. He was told that we should return by the same road and see about it then. While the Shaikh was present, Maulvi Azam Husain said, "Her Highness' journey is tranquil and easy. Last year when I came here there was a great fight and seven men of my caravan were killed." After the Shaikh had gone, the Sahibzada told the Maulvi that he should not have said this in his presence and so encouraged him to do as before. The Maulvi

excused himself, saying that he had simply meant to thank God for His bounty and mercy.

We passed a safe and comfortable night.

On the 9th Ramzan, we started in the early morning from Bir-i-Saíd. Our whole route lay through a hilly tract and in front we saw high mountains. The road, however, wound so much that we escaped climbing as the mountains did not form one mass, but were separated. Before noon after crossing a plain we saw a fertile garden of date-palms. The soil was exactly like the bed of a dried-up tank. There was also a spring of fresh water. Near sunset the caravan halted at the Ain-i-Hamra. This is a small patch of ground surrounded by hills, where there are date-groves, a mosque with mud walls, and a canal. There is also a small fort with 50 Turkish troops and a little village. Here are the tombs of Abbas (the Prophet's cousin) and certain other holy persons, which were visited by most of the members of the caravan. When we saw how green and fresh the place looked, we thought we would halt here for a day, but at 8 in the evening we heard gun-shots in all directions. Sharif Ahmad-ibn-Mansur received a letter

from a Bedouin Shaikh saying, "If your people are of the family of Kalb-i-Ali Khan, he promised to pay us Rs. 500 a year to keep the road clear, and on returning to India broke his word. You pay it and give a promise for the future. If you are not of his family, give us a suitable present. If not, we are assembled at the valley of Huzaifa and will not allow the caravan to proceed to Medina without a fight." A letter in similar terms was received by Abu Jud Madani, who handed it to Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur. The Sahibzada spoke to me about the letter and said that he would consult Hilmi Effendi and see what he said. He consulted him accordingly and had an answer sent, but I suggested to the Sahibzada that, if by paying something to these people a fight could be avoided, it would be better to pay, for "'property is an atonement for life." But his manly resolution and courage objected to this. So after consulting Hilmi Effendi he determined not to pay a pice, for there are such a number of families and groups of these people that, however much we might give, their greed would never be satisfied. Appar-

ently the emissaries of the Sharif of Mecca were at the bottom of this plot.

Excepting myself, my sons, and Hilmi Effendi, all the members of the caravan were in favour of payment and the letters received from the Bedouins caused much uneasiness throughout the camp.

When the gun-shots were heard, the Sharif's emissaries were asked to explain the reason. They replied that they had sent a man to inquire, and added that probably the writers of the letters wished to show that if we did not pay they would certainly fight. A couple of hours later when firing had ceased after about ten shots the emissaries sent a message that the slaves of the Bedouins had been shooting in the hills and that there was no cause for alarm. At 3 A.M. guns were again fired, but the reason was not clear.

The Shaikh of the Ain-i-Hamra had provided a feast for us, sending a couple of fat-tailed sheep and a quantity of uncooked rice which we accepted. After these occurrences we gave up our plan of a halt in this neighbourhood. As soon as the firing commenced, strict precautions

were adopted by our military guard. The cordon of sentries called out "Karakul," to which others replied "Hazirul." Several Bedouins were seen moving about during the night, and it appeared on enquiry that the Shaikh of the place had come to pay us a visit. We passed this night in some agitation.

On the 10th Ramzan, the caravan left Ain-i-Hamra at 7 A.M. The dispositions of the Turkish military guard were changed. The immediate escort around my litter was increased and the Turkish troops protected the caravan on all sides. The duty was performed with much bravery and intelligence. The Turkish advance guard climbed every dangerous hill, cleared the road, and signalled with flags after which the caravan moved forward. Some of the mountains were so high that men standing at the top looked like dwarfs. The Sharif's emissaries had sent men on in advance to find out where the Bedouins had assembled and to let them know that if they did not fight they would be rewarded, and that, if they fought, the Sharif would be very angry. The men returned at 11 o'clock and stated that the road was quite safe and

no one was disposed to fight. This statement reassured the caravan, but the Turkish escort continued to do their duty with their usual valour.

At 1 o'clock a number of Bedouins were seen climbing the Khif hill, and bullets began to fly from above. One bullet came quite close to Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan who had a hair-breadth escape. Behind him was the Sharif's emissary's camel which was knocked over by the bullet. A few bullets came near my litter too, but by God's mercy no one was injured. A Turkish guard at once climbed the heights and, though the Bedouins had already fled, they restored full confidence. This is the same hill on which the Bedouins frequently attacked the Prophet (Peace be upon him!) The Hamidah clan had engaged in a severe fight here last year. As long as there was danger, the Turks maintained full precautions. When the dangerous zone had been passed, they descended from the hill singing happily, and the Sahibzáda approached my litter to inform me that the Turkish troops said that there was no more cause for anxiety. I

sent for Hilmi Effendi and thanked him, his soldiers, and His Majesty the Sultan, to which he replied, "Your Highness is a lady of distinction, Ruler of the Bhopal State which is protected by the British Government. We have been repeatedly enjoined to safeguard Your Highness. Your Highness must therefore look upon us as your household servants, and the soldiers as your children. They will serve and obey Your Highness with the same zeal as your own troops."

There is a small deserted Bedouin village with springs of water in places. On the summit of the hill is a date-grove watered by a running brook. No one lives in the village. I ordered a short halt here as the heat was intense, fatigue was telling upon the troops, and the hour of afternoon prayer had come. The camels carrying water were moved forward and orders were given to provide the Turkish troops with a plentiful drink. The beasts of burden were taken round to the springs but the water was not good.

Khif is a hamlet with houses of two or three storeys and a barley market. Our caravan

A group of Turkish Soldiers of the Irregular Force.

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did not stop at this place ; but the camelmen bought a quantity of barley for their camels as they went along. Towards sunset we halted in a broad sandy plain. Near a deep well stands a fort garrisoned by fifty Turkish troops. It was our intention to pass the night within the tower, but the Commander of the force said that the next day's march would be retarded if the Bedouins laid siege to the fortress and barred the way. He accordingly suggested that it would be well to camp in the open ground. All approved this view and the caravan camped in the maidan. Every precaution was taken to safeguard the camp. The name of the place where we halted was Bir-i-Abbas (the well of Abbas).

The local Shaikh informed Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur that the neighbouring chieftains with their clans had come in and the night would therefore be one of danger. He further pointed out that the men who had fired on the caravan also accompanied these chieftains to ask for a present. The Sahibzada asked what they meant by demanding a present when they had fired

upon our caravan. "Trouble is on foot and the leaders ask us for money." The Shaikh replied that he and his people were our faithful and devoted servants and well-wishers and as such deserved a present. To this the Sahibzada rejoined that if this was true he should produce those who had fired. The Shaikh replied that the men who had fired were only a few slaves who had sworn to fire on a caravan or to divorce their wives and that it was only in fulfilment of this oath that they had fired. At this juncture Ahmad-ibn-Mansur (one of the Sharif's emissaries) intervened with a request that, as he had promised these men to get them a present of Rs. 4,000 on condition that they made no disturbance, he hoped that out of regard for him the sum would be paid to them. Considering that these people were dwellers in Arabia and as such deserving of alms, however unbecoming their behaviour may have been towards us, we agreed to pay them the amount in question. Ahmad-ibn-Mansur was entrusted with the task of distributing the money among the various claimants. A curious quarrel arose at the distribution. Some complained that their

names had not been entered among the Shaikhs and that they had thus been insulted, while others asserted that their clans were more numerous than others and they had received too little; in short, they were all ready to fight among themselves.

On the morning of Monday, the 11th Ramzan, we left Bir-i-Abbas. The arrangements for protection were the same as on the previous day's march and the same activity and diligence continued to be displayed as before. We travelled by God's mercy in perfect safety and security. When we had gone a little way, we came at a place between Bir-i-Abbas and Bir-i-Darwesh across a group of *babul* trees near a well. Here Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan approached my litter and told me that a Military Officer with three hundred troops and artillery was coming from Medina to receive me. After informing me, he rode forward with Sardar Bahadur Major Karim Beg; and Captain Muhammad Husain Khan accompanied him. When they came up to the force and had met the advancing column, and exchanged the usual civilities with the Commanding Officer,

the Sahibzada suggested that as my cavalcade was very near and would arrive at the spot in a short time, the troops should be drawn up according to custom where they were so as to be ready for Her Highness' reception. Acting upon the Sahibzada's suggestion, the Turkish Commander halted and drew up his troops with the artillery close by.

The place where the troops were met is a sandy plain with *babul* trees. When my litter reached this spot, the guard of honour presented arms and the artillery fired a salute of 21 guns. Owing to the large number of camp followers and camels our caravan was a mile long, and as the salute was fired, it struck us that the noise might cause those in the rear to suppose that we were attacked by Bedouins and so raise an alarm. The Sahibzada, therefore, thoughtfully sent a few horsemen to tell the people that we had been met by a welcoming force and that a salute had been fired and to reassure them. Confusion had, however, commenced before the horsemen arrived and all hurried in our direction, anxious to take part in the supposed fray with the Bedouins. While this was going on, the messengers galloped

to the spot, stopped the confusion, and removed the anxiety of the women.

The strength of the force from Medina was as follows, exclusive of the artillery escort:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chief Military Officers—Bim Bashi 1, Kul Aghashi 1 | .. .. | 2 |
| Subaltern Officers | .. .. | 6 |
| Rank and file | .. .. | 150 |
| | TOTAL .. | 158 |

At nightfall the caravan halted at the Bir-i-Darwesh and the Turkish troops made the usual arrangements for guards and patrols.

On Tuesday, the 12th Ramzan, we left Bir-i-Darwesh in the morning. Although our road lay across hilly country, we travelled by God's mercy and favour unmolested and in perfect safety, and nothing occurred on the way to alarm us.

As we approached Bir-i-Ali, we found that from the top of the hill before us a glimpse of the holy Medina was visible. The people of the caravan on learning this ran eagerly towards the mountain and the scene was one which I shall remember as long as I live. The sight of each man hurrying towards the top of the hill in

pious enthusiasm to obtain a glimpse of the city to visit which he had gone through so many difficulties, and giving vent to the rapture which filled his heart at the holy view by loudly calling out Darud (invoking peace upon the soul of the Prophet) was most exhilarating and instructive. It is worth mentioning that in the plain through which we passed there was a very sweet smell which delighted our senses.

At some distance from Bir-i-Ali a clear view of the holy city was obtained, and most of our followers dismounted as a mark of reverence. We frequently came across small straggling hamlets and at one place saw a masonry mosque. At 9 P.M., we halted at Bir-i-Urwah for the night. As this place was in the outskirts of Medina—only a couple of miles from the holy city—Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur hastened to visit the Prophet's shrine at once, leaving at 10 P.M.

The Kazi, the Mufti, and a large number of the nobles and gentlemen of Medina came out to meet me at Bir-i-Urwah. A carriage drawn by horses was also sent by the authorities at

Medina for my conveyance, but, as it was not possible to make suitable *parda* arrangements in it, I could not myself use it.

A stricter watch than usual was kept this night, and the Turkish military escort warned our party to be specially careful in view of the proximity of a Rawafiz* encampment.

Wednesday, the 13th, or according to our calculations the 12th, Ramzan (2nd December 1903) was the day on which we were to reach Medina. Our attendants were provided with a change of clothing and silk turbans. The camels carrying my travelling litter were decked with shawls. At 8 o'clock in the morning, Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur informed me that the Shaikh-ul-Haram (the officer in charge of the Holy Places) had sent his son-in-law to receive me, and that the latter wanted to speak to me. I accordingly sent for him, and he took his seat outside my tent with Sayyad Yasin, who acted as interpreter, while

* Plural of Rafizi : A certain sub-division of the Shias of Kufa so called because they deserted ('Rifz'—desertion, forsaking) Zaid the son of Ali when he forbade them to revile and anathematize the premier companions of the Prophet. In its secondary meaning the word has come to signify a heretic and is opprobriously applied by the Sunnis to the Shias.

I sat inside behind a curtain. After we had exchanged courtesies, the Shaikh's son-in-law delivered a message from his father-in-law expressing his great pleasure at my arrival, and telling me that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan had repeatedly telegraphed that no pains should be spared to provide for my comfort and entertainment. I thanked him and then he said that as Sayyad Safi had incurred the Sultan's displeasure, the Shaikh-ul-Haram did not think it advisable that I should take up my quarters in his (Sayyad Safi's) house, which had been selected for the purpose by the Sharif, and that, if I should live there, the Shaikh-ul-Haram would ask to be excused from coming to pay his respects to me. In reply I said that I had come on a pilgrimage to his country and that of the Sultan, and I was the guest of the Shaikh-ul-Haram as well as of the Sharif, both of whom were His Majesty's Governors. For the present, therefore, I would live in the house selected by the Sharif, but, if it proved to be at an inconvenient distance from the sacred Haram, I would remove after four days to the nearer house which the Shaikh-ul-Haram had selected for me.

After 9 A.M. I left for Medina accompanied by Sharhyar Dulhan Sahiba and the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan and Mian Muhammad Hamidullah Khan. On the way we saw large bodies of men coming from Medina. It was generally remarked that the people of Medina were not in the habit of coming out of their city to welcome any one, and that this was a special honour done to the Begam of Bhopal. The Turks who were with me were only in attendance upon my personal procession; and over and above their band there was also a band of slaves playing music. The procession moved on in a very stately fashion. At about 11 A.M. we reached the City gate, called the Bab-i-Ambariah. Outside the gate I was received by His Excellency Izzatlu Hasn Muzaffar Pasha, Muhafiz or Governor of Medina, and the Treasurer-General of the Sacred Haram with troops, a band, and artillery. A salute of 21 guns was fired in my honour. I then entered a tent which had already been pitched to receive me and the Sahibzadas, and it was here that I received the nobles of Medina. The following is the speech which I delivered on the occasion :—

"ESTEEMED GENTLEMEN,—

"I owe unnumbered thanks to Almighty God who, in removing from my path the difficulties which deprived my grandmother the Nawab Sikandar Begam (who has found a seat in Paradise) of this great blessing, has fulfilled my long-cherished desire and given light to my eyes by the dust of the holy Medina. At the same time I invoke the choicest peace and blessings of heaven upon that beloved Prophet to visit whose sacred tomb I have come all this way with the utmost eagerness and sincerity. My grateful acknowledgments are then due to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan (May God perpetuate his Empire) for his cordial hospitality. I am indebted to His Majesty for the excellent arrangements that have been made to accord me an honourable reception and to provide for my safety and comfort. I also beg sincerely to thank His Excellency the Governor of Medina, the Shaikh-ul-Haram, and the other learned men, spiritual leaders, and elders of the City who have kindly taken the trouble to come so far to welcome me. I cannot close my remarks without thanking the Senior Military Officers,

the Subordinate Officers and the gallant Turkish troops under them, who, in safely escorting me to this place from Jeddah, Yembu, and Bir-i-Darwesh, have toiled day and night to secure my comfort.

"I had heard praises of the strenuousness and vigilance of the Turkish soldiery and these have been more than confirmed by what I have myself seen. These gallant troops displayed the greatest activity in marching with our caravan by day, and with the same untiring zeal surrounded and guarded it at night. What surprised me in the behaviour of these troops, however, was that in dangerous localities they quickly scaled lofty and nearly inaccessible ridges, and, having satisfied themselves that all was safe, descended with equal ease to resume their march with the caravan. Although certain thoughtless individuals several times fired on our party, yet owing to the care taken by our troops no injury was caused and, God be praised, our party was not in any way hurt by their bullets.

"It was also due to the kind attention of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan that the chieftains and elders of the several Arab clans on

the way waited upon me, showed their readiness to assist me faithfully, and accompanied our party throughout the journey. I am indebted to one and all who have been of assistance to me on this holy journey and I pray for your safety and prosperity."

After this I mounted my litter and entered the City. As I reached the doorway of the Prophet's mosque, the Shaikh-ul-Haram, Izzatlu Usman Pasha, the Kazi, the Mufti, the Shaikh-ul-Aghwath (Chief of the Eunuchs) and the Shaikh-ul-Khutaba (Chief of the Preachers) came as far as the door to receive me, and asked me whether it was my intention to present myself at the sacred shrine immediately or later on. As proper *parda* arrangements could not be made at such short notice, and I, moreover, felt fatigued, I replied that I would then and there invoke peace upon the blessed Prophet and go to my house, and that I would pay a visit to the holy tomb at some other time as there was no particular hurry about the visit, for we followers of the holy Prophet invoked the blessings of heaven upon him even from India. I then went to Sayyad Safi's

house which had been selected for my residence by the Sharif of Mecca and stayed there.

Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur, after meeting the Shaikh-ul-Haram in the Prophet's mosque, expressed a desire to visit the interior of the Prophet's mausoleum and asked if it was posssible for us to do so. The Sahibzada knew that no one was permitted to reach the blessed grave itself and he wished therefore to go as far as the brass railings surrounding it. The people of Medina term this visit *dakhili*. The Shaikh-ul-Haram answered that women could, on no account, visit the place. The Sahibzada, however, could go if he would wear a long coat, and tie a white turban round his Turkish cap, that being the *dakhili* dress. The Sahibzada accepted this condition, and on the 15th Ramzan, accompanied by Sardar Bahadur Mirza Karim Beg and Captain Muhammad Husain Khan, he reached the holy place wearing the prescribed clothes. Each had a candle in his hand and entered the blessed mausoleum where they fixed the candles in sockets and lit them. The Officer in charge of the attendants presented the Sahibzada with sacred relics ; one wick, and

a small quantity of the rosewater with which the sacred grave had been washed.

The accompanying photograph will give the reader a clear idea of the structure of the holy tomb.

Most of the City notables called on me at Sayyad Safi's house. The Shaikh-ul-Haram, however, did not come as the house was at a distance from the Sacred Precincts and there was some friction between him and Sayyad Safi. My chief object in staying in Medina was to present myself as often as possible at the holy Haram. The distance of my present abode, however, was a great obstacle. I therefore informed the Sharif's emissaries that I wished to move to a more convenient lodging and I asked them to let the Sharif know. They hesitated at first, but in the end telegraphed my wishes to the Sharif. As the reply was delayed, I, on the 15th of Ramzan, after paying my respects to the holy shrine, moved to a house near the Majidi gate of the Prophet's mosque. This house, which had already been rented for me by Maulvi Azam Husain, at the instance of the Shaikh-ul-Haram, was the property of a nobleman and had been endowed as a

charity on condition that while the poor should live in it without charge, the well-to-do should pay for their accommodation according to their means. At the back of this house was a building which was rented for the accommodation of my followers. A number of them were housed in this building, while Sardar Bahadur Karim Beg accompanied by his men took up lodgings in the house of Sayyad Ilyas. After we had removed to the new house the Shaikh-ul-Haram and the ladies of his household visited us from time to time.

### Our Sojourn at Medina, the Illustrious.

*(May God increase its splendour!)*

Sayyad Safi's house, in which I had taken up my lodgings, was situated at such a distance from the Prophet's tomb that for three whole days I could not pay a visit to the Holy Shrine. On the fourth day, however, I mounted my litter and reached it. The Shaikh-ul-Haram had made excellent arrangements for the occasion, so that only eunuchs were permitted to be present; there were no men inside the shrine.

The Haram is usually closed at night, but is kept open at all hours during the holy month of

Ramzan. I, therefore, experienced no difficulty in obtaining admission. The Pasha in charge of the Haram, the Kazi, the Mufti, and certain other notables stood at the doorway to receive me. I alighted from the conveyance clad in a *burqa*, and after exchanging salutations with these gentlemen entered the Haram. Presently I reached the holy tomb and my guide Sayyad Hammad assisted me to perform the rites of visitation.

Instead of returning to Sayyad Safi's house, I went on leaving the Haram straight to the house which had been rented in the neighbourhood of the Majidi gate. This house presented the distinct advantage that I was enabled to perform the Isha (evening) service every night at the Prophet's mosque. The Pasha in charge of the Haram was good enough to provide for my personal use a separate place apart from other women, so that I could spend as much time in devotion during the blessed month of Ramzan as fate had decreed for me.

On the day of our arrival in Medina we were entertained at a dinner given by Sayyad Ali Zahid Vatri, a Bhopal State stipendiary during the rule

of my late mother who has found a seat in Paradise. The invitation had been given in writing so early as the 29th of Shaaban, 1321 Hijra, at the time of our landing at Yembu, and we had communicated our acceptance of it in a letter, dated the 6th Ramzan. The dinner was after the Arab fashion and was given with all the usual Arab ceremonies.

On Thursday, the 14th Ramzan, our party was similarly entertained by Sayyad Safi. I shall describe this entertainment in detail. Two rooms had been neatly furnished. In the centre of the rooms, which were elegantly carpeted, was placed a low oval table around which the guests took their seats. Half a loaf of leavened and buttered bread and a spoon were placed before each guest. Behind the guests stood servants with jars of water and a towel. A napkin was spread over the knees of each guest. The first course, according to the European custom, consisted of soup to which each guest helped himself as he liked. The used plates were then replaced by clean ones and meat cooked with turnips, plain boiled rice, kubuli (a mess of rice and gram pulse), brinjal

curry, roast meat, and similar other viands constituted the succeeding courses. The feast ended by a mouthful of plain bread to which the guests helped themselves in order to clean the mouth. When they rose from the table, they washed their hands with soap, drank coffee, and each went to his own place.

During our stay in Medina the ladies of the household of the Shaikh-ul-Haram called on me two or three times and entertained me at dinner to which I went with several ladies of my suite. The dinner was like that which I have just described. In the male apartments the guests included the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan, Mian Muhammad Hamidullah Khan, Sardar Bahadur, Major Karim Beg, Captain Muhammad Husain, Mian Saadat Muhammad Khan, Mian Jalil Muhammad Khan, Mian Ekbal Muhammad Khan, Mian Kamil Muhammad Khan, Mian Mahmud Ali Khan and a number of other persons of rank.

According to the custom here, a dinner consisting of 12 courses is regarded as a banquet, and a special delicacy is a goat roasted

whole and filled with richly cooked Biryani (a description of Pilau).

At the time of our departure from Bhopal Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur had repeatedly requested me to buy for him a number of good horses for which Arabia is celebrated, and afterwards Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur frequently reminded me of this request. On reaching Medina we looked about for horses but none could be had in the local market. It then occurred to me that my lamented husband, the Nawab Ihtisham-ul-Mulk Ali Jah, was in the habit of ordering horses from Najd where there is a specially fine breed. I accordingly entrusted Abd-ur-Rahman Khan with the sum of Rs. 7,000 and sent him with Abd-ur-Rahman, the son of Ilyas, to Shaikh Abd-ul-Aziz ibn Rashid of Najd with instructions to purchase horses. A suitable letter on the subject was also addressed to the Shaikh. These returned towards the middle of *Ziqaad* and brought a dozen horses. They also brought many cloaks and robes and two mares as presents from Ibn Rashid who told my men that he

would be glad if the Begam of Bhopal would give him sufficient funds to enable him to construct a railway in his territory.

The horses bought at Najd were of the most ordinary type, and it looked as if unlawful greed had played a great part in the purchase. I had no object for cultivating friendly relations with Shaikh Ibn Rashid or any other Arab clan and there was no opportunity for it. I, therefore, as soon as I saw the presents, told Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur to return all gifts. The Sahibzada also told me that the horses imported from Najd were of very poor quality and that a great deal of swindling had taken place. Sirdar Bahadur Major Karim Beg and Captain Muhammad Husain Khan said the same thing. This added to my irritation. All the gifts sent by Ibn-i-Rashid were accordingly sent back. Of the twelve horses six were presented to Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan and three each to the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan and Mian Hamidullah Khan. I communicated all these circumstances in writing to the Political Agent at Bhopal, but on my return there I came to know that the

letter had not reached him. It probably reached him later. As a precautionary measure, copies of all the correspondence addressed to that officer were forwarded to Bombay.

On the 28th of Ramzan Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan informed me that the Shaikh-ul-Haram and the Governor of Medina had told him that, according to a long-standing custom, every ruler of a country or nobleman who visited Medina paid a visit to the Governor at the Government House, and that it was accordingly advisable that either I should call or he should do so on my behalf. As for several reasons I could not personally make a call, I deputed my son to represent me. He accordingly went to the Government House with due ceremony and the custom was observed.

My original intention was to proceed from Medina to Mecca by land in order that I might visit the shrines on the way. This intention has been strengthened by the stormy weather between Jeddah and Yembu. I had accordingly asked Major Macwatt to request the British Consul at Jeddah not to charter a

steamer for me. In view, however, of the inconvenience to me he had advised me that the journey by land would entail great hardships, and, as a matter of fact, he was quite right in his opinion, and I had given up the intended land route. He presumably did not speak to the Consul on the subject for the same reason. While still at Medina, I received from the British Consul, with reference to the conversation that had taken place between us during my stay at Jeddah, a communication to the effect that the steamship *Behara* had been chartered to convey me from Yembu to Jeddah on my return journey.

On our way the Bedouins had given us much trouble, and while in Medina we heard that the Hamidah clan were ready to fight and had declared that they would harass us on our return journey. Similar reports reached the Shaikh-ul-Haram who advised me to accompany the Syrian mahmal (sacred carpet for the Kaaba) and thereby secure my own comfort. Accordingly I followed the opinion of those able to advise and so far modified my programme so as to wait at Medina for the

arrival of the Syrian mahmal and to accompany the caravan conveying it to Mecca by land. An intimation to this effect was made to the British Consul by telegraph, but, owing probably to an interruption in the wire, he did not receive it in time to prevent his negotiating and entering into an agreement with the owners of the S. S. *Behara*, a copy of which was forwarded to me. In reply I told the Consul that I had definitely changed my mind as to my movements and I hoped that he would be easily able to cancel the engagement. As I did not receive a reply to my letter, I wrote again to tell the Consul that the Vice-Consul, whom he had promised to send to me, had not yet arrived and that it would be well that he should come, for, as I was in a foreign country and had no one to consult, the Vice-Consul would be of assistance to me.

On the 23rd of December the Vice-Consul arrived with a letter from the Consul which showed that the agreement about the steamer had not yet been cancelled. He moreover informed me that he had been sent by the Consul to personally learn the reasons which

had made me change my programme. I related to him everything that had happened and the rumours that were current. I further told him that the local notables were of opinion that we ought to accompany the Syrian caravan, that the daily reports were terrifying and that from what the Bedouins themselves said in the Haram it was clear that their intentions were mischievous. The Vice-Consul was greatly perplexed and replied with much dejection and melancholy "Very well, I will tell the Consul about it but Your Highness will have to compensate the ship-owner." I answered that I had given notice in Ramzan and so the Consul must probably have informed the ship-owner. It was now Shawal and he had not brought the ship; so how could any compensation be due? Moreover the steamer was not forthcoming; the payment of an indemnity was, therefore, quite out of the question. Thereupon the Vice-Consul said he would telegraph to the Consul, and left for his lodgings.

A day or two previously the Vice-Consul had spread the rumour that the Bedouins were hostile to him also. After that he suddenly left with-

out letting me know. He used to be given meals from our kitchen and the meals continued to be sent to his place four times before his departure was brought to my notice. When at length his absence became known it caused much perplexity as to what the reason might be and the idea naturally occurred to us that the Bedouins finding him alone and unattended might kill him. A telegram was accordingly despatched to the British Consul saying that the Vice-Consul had left without notice. An answer came saying that he had arrived safely.

The following is a copy of the correspondence which took place on this subject :—

**Copy of a letter dated Sehore, the 6th November 1903, from Major L. Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.**

I enclose an endorsement No. 4846, dated the 4th November 1903, from Captain Goodridge forwarding a copy of telegram from the Directors of the Khedivieh Steamship Company, Alexandria, in which the latter offer to convey your Highness and suite from Yembu to Jeddah for £500. A telegraphic pass for reply is also enclosed.

The fare demanded seems high, but your Highness will be able to ascertain probably at Jeddah whether it is advisable to accept this offer or not. In any case a reply to the Manager might be sent direct. If this letter arrives in time I would suggest that the advice of the British Consul at Jeddah be taken. If the offer is accepted it will be necessary to have been made for your Highness' comfort.

I trust that the journey has been made without any inconvenience being experienced and that you and all your suite have enjoyed good health.

I had the pleasure of accompanying Nawab Nasrullah Khan on a visit to the Cruiser *Argonaut* at Bombay, an experience we both enjoyed.

I saw Birjis Jehan Begam yesterday, she looked fit and well, and I am sure could have sent her salaams if she could

Please give my salaams to the Sahibzadas, and my kind regards to Major and Mrs. Macwatt.

Copy of a telegram dated 4th November 1903, from Khedivieh, Alexandria, to the Director of the Royal Indian Marine, Bombay.

Referring letter 4620. On receipt minimum seven days' notice will have pleasure detail special

steamer proceed Yembu, convey Begam Bhopal and suite thence Jeddah five hundred pounds, also if desired prepared negotiate special steamer convey latter back Bombay.

Forwarded to the Political Agent, Bhopal, in continuation of this office letter No. 4761, dated 31st October 1903. Reply pass received with the telegram is herewith forwarded.

Copy of a letter No. 4620, dated the 24th October 1903, to the Egyptian Director of Marine.

Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal with her son and party leaves Bombay in the S. S. *Akbar* on the 30th instant for Yembu and Jeddah. The whole party will land at Yembu in the first instance and after performing their intended pilgrimage to Medina return to Yembu and proceed thence to Jeddah.

2. As the *Akbar* will not be available for the latter voyage, I shall be glad to be informed whether suitable arrangements can be made for the conveyance of Her Highness and party, together with their luggage and live stock from Yembu to Jeddah in one of your steamers, and if so, on what terms.

3. The party will consist of about—

10 1st class, including European lady.
10 2nd class.
230 3rd class.
12 Horses.

4. Please say whether you have a regular line of steamers running from Suez to Yembu, Jeddah and Aden, if so, I shall be glad to be furnished with a programme of the same.

Copy of a letter dated Suakim, the 26th November 1903, from Major Macwatt to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

We hope that your Highness got away from Yembu without delay and that the journey to Medina and back and the stay there will be accomplished as comfortably as possible. I trust that the Vice-Consul may be able to carry out his intention and join you at Medina, returning with you to Yembu and Jeddah as he would, no doubt, be of much assistance.

We reached Jeddah on the forenoon of 23rd November after a very smooth passage such as I hope your Highness may have in your journey. We spent the night with the Consul and he and I made complete arrangements for a ship for the passage from Yembu and Jeddah. It will be pleasing to you to hear that we have

succeeded in chartering the S. S. *Behara* which is the largest and best on the Red Sea Traffic, and roomy and comfortable in every way. As the contract was concluded about an hour before we sailed, I had no time to write to you from Jeddah; but the Consul, who has taken a great deal of trouble in securing such a good ship and on such favourable terms, promised to send you a copy of the contract. I trust it may have reached you safely and that the arrangements meet with your Highness's approval. The *Behara* was formerly a man-of-war. Mr. Devey knows the ship and has travelled on it, and he says he is sure that you will be pleased with it. He has also promised to have a boat ready for the disembarkation from the *Behara* at Jeddah on the 10th January, fitted up with Purdah,—probably a steam launch.

In case the copy of the contract may not have reached the following are the terms made between myself acting on behalf of your Highness and Mr. N. Gallimberti, Jeddah.

(*a*) The S. S. *Behara* to convey yourself and suite of about 260 persons and 12 horses from Yembu to Jeddah.

(*b*) S. S. *Behara* to be in Yembu ready for the above purpose between the 9th and 12th January 1904.

Copy of a contract dated Jeddah, Arabia, the 4th November 1903.

Between Major R. C. Macwatt, I.M.S., acting on account of Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal on one side and Mr. N. Gallimberti as Agent for the Abbasieh Company of the Daira Khassa on the other side.

It has been agreed as follows :—

(*a*) Mr. Gallimberti abovenamed engages to supply the S. S. *Behara* to convey H. H. the Begam of Bhopal and suite of about 260 (two hundred and sixty) persons and 12 horses from Yembu to Jeddah.

(*b*) The S. S. *Behara* shall have to be in Yembu ready for the above purpose between the 9th and the 12th days of January 1904.

(*c*) Major R. C. Macwatt, I.M.S., on his part engages that H. H. the Begam of Bhopal shall be ready to leave by the abovenamed steamer between the

dates abovementioned (9th to 12th January 1904), and to pay for the journey Yembu to Jeddah £250 (two hundred and fifty pounds sterling) on the express condition that the *Behara* will take no more passengers, besides H. H. the Begam and suite as above.

(*d*) Demurrage on both sides is fixed at the rate of £40 sterling (forty pounds sterling) per day, commencing on the morning of the 13th January 1904.

(*e*) The ship shall be properly found and equipped as usual and if not provided with a condensing machine, shall have a liberal supply of pure drinking-water.

(*f*) Payment to be made in cash on ship's arrival in Jeddah before disembarkation.

(*g*) In case it will be decided that the 200 (two hundred) Turkish soldiers who are accompanying Her Highness, have to come from Yembu to Jeddah by the same steamer, together with other Arab Shaikhs, Sharifs, etc., tempo-

rarily employed in H. H.'s service, the *Behara* shall have to take them at the rate of three shillings and four pence each.

Made in duplicate in Jeddah this 24th day of November 1903.

Copy of a letter dated Jeddah, the 25th November 1903, from G. P. Devey, H. B. M. Consul, to H. H. the Begam of Bhopal.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of contract made out in my presence between Major R. C. Macwatt and a Shipping Agent here to provide S. S. *Behara* for your Highness's return journey from Yembu to Jeddah, and trust the arrangements will prove satisfactory in every detail.

Copy of a letter dated the 8th December 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Impey, Political Agent in Bhopal.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 6th November, enclosing an endorsement No. 4846, dated the 4th November, from Captain Goodridge. I truly regret the trouble to which Captain Goodridge was put in arranging with the Directors of the Khedivieh Steamship Company. I have given up the idea

of going to Mecca, *viâ* Yembu and Jeddah. I have already given you a brief account of the treatment I received at the hands of the Bedouins on my way to Medina through Yembu. They fired at me; pressed me to offer them *bakhshish* and threatened me at every stage. I was at length compelled to offer them *bakhshish* which some of them refused to accept, on the plea that it was a small sum and they followed me up to Medina in order to extort more.

You may well imagine that in these circumstances I could not hope to be safe and comfortable if I went to Mecca through Yembu. I therefore propose to travel along with the Syrian caravan which proceeds to Mecca from Medina by the Sultani route. Although this caravan starts late for Mecca, that is, it arrives at Mecca only a week or so before the appointed date of Haj, yet it will be very convenient and safe for us to travel with it. I have already intimated this to His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jeddah and asked him not to arrange for the S. S. *Behara* which was going to be engaged by Major Macwatt for £250 and the Agent of the said steamer has been wired a refusal.

According to the advice of the Shaikh-ul-Haram I have sent a telegram conveying my thanks to H. I. Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. The Shaikhs of this place often compel me to act as they dictate. I fear that in case of non-compliance they may disturb me, put obstacles in my way, and break the peace en route.

I am now in their country and am compelled to abide by their wishes. I was glad to hear from you that Birjis Jahan and Nawab Nasrullah Khan are both very well.

Both my Sahibzadas are well and send their salaams to you.

There is all well in my suite.

Copy of a letter dated 5th January 1904, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Major Macwatt.

Received with much pleasure your letter from Suakim. I hope you have reached England by now after a safe and pleasant voyage. I trust that you and Mrs. Macwatt are both enjoying good health.

I remained four days in Yembu, on the fifth day I started for Medina on camel back. I reached Medina after seven days. Thank God we have all been so far safe. Though escorted by

the Turkish soldiers the Bedouins gave us no end of trouble on the way. I have, therefore, changed the programme of my journey, so that I may be saved from any further annoyance at their hands. I have accordingly decided not to go to Yembu but proceed direct to Mecca with the Syrian caravan which passes by the Sultani *Tarik* from Medina on camel back. The *Sowari* of H. I. M. the Sultan goes with this caravan. It consists of Turkish soldiers and men of high position and dignity. The Bedouins greatly fear it. It starts ten or twelve days before the appointed date for Haj. I have intimated my intentions to His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jeddah and am waiting for the arrival of the caravan in Medina.

I had received from Mr. Devey a copy of the contract made out between you and the Abbassieh Steamship Company. I am sorry to say that now I am not going to Mecca *viâ* Yembu. I have asked the British Consul to cancel the arrangement made with the Company. Major Impey had also arranged for a ship through Captain Goodridge, but for the said reasons I have asked him as well to cancel the arrangement.

I shall, however, leave Jeddah four or five days later than was previously intended, namely, on 14th or 15th March 1904. I am now at Medina and shall start for Mecca with the Syrian caravan by the middle of February next. Trusting my letter will reach you before you sail from England.

With my best wishes for yourself and Mrs. Macwatt.

Copy of a letter dated Medina, the 7th December 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jeddah.

God be praised. I arrived at Medina on Wednesday last. The first two days of my journey from Yembu went well. On the third day threatening letters from Bedouins began to pour in, but I paid no heed to them. At 11 o'clock in the night we twice heard the sound of a gun fired on the hill. Turkish soldiers who had been on guard all round our party became more vigilant and ready to meet any event. No more firing was heard till 2 o'clock in the night, when there were only three or four more shots. However, the night passed and we set out on our journey in the morning. We met on our way several gangs of Bedouins armed with

breech-loaders in the hope of getting *bakhshish* or otherwise doing mischief. The presence of the Turkish escort prevented them from doing harm, still they fired 11 times, and one of the bullets fell close to the horse of Sahibzada Obaid-ullah Khan who had been riding behind my conveyance. In the evening the Bedouins came to intimidate me at my encampment, and I was compelled to offer them something. Some of them accepted what I offered, and some returned the same, haughtily saying that it was a petty amount. In short, they greatly annoyed me throughout the whole route and came up to Medina with me. I do not think I shall be safe now on my way to Yembu when they are so bent on annoying me in every way. I have, therefore, given up the idea of going to Mecca, *viâ* Yembu and Jeddah. I propose to travel along with the Shami Kafla (the Syrian caravan) which leaves Medina through "Sultan Tarik" for Mecca. Please so do not trouble yourself for making any arrangement with the Steamship Company regarding my return voyage from Yem-bu to Jeddah, and you will kindly break off any such arrangement which may have been made.

I shall be glad to hear of any cost that may have been incurred in correspondence with the company that the same may be defrayed. Kindly despatch the enclosed telegram with Pass. I received it from Captain Goodridge, Director of the Royal Indian Marine, Bombay, through Major L. Impey, with the request that I should notify my approval or disapproval direct to the manager of the ship with whom they had also settled for my return voyage from Yembu to Jeddah. The steamer is no more now required as I am not going by that way.

You will kindly wire to H. I. M. the Sultan on my behalf that I safely arrived at Medina under the escort of Turkish troops. My reception by Shaikh-ul-Haram and Muhafiz Pasha was grand, for which I am grateful to His Majesty, and to avoid being troubled by Bedouins, I mean now to travel with Shami caravan under the escort of Turkish forces. The Amir Haj may, therefore, be instructed to conduct me safely to Mecca along with the Syrian caravan.

If you think proper you may also mention how I was fired at by the Bedouins that surer measures may be taken to procure safety.

Copy of a letter dated Jeddah, the 16th December 1903, from Mr. G. P. Devey, H. B. M. Consul, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt to-day of your Highness' letter, dated the 6th instant, and have cabled to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople details as to your safe arrival at Medina.

I am, indeed, sorry that the Bedouins should have annoyed your Highness' party on the road with turbulence and insolence, as this is their custom too often. I trust that during your further journeys in Hijaz no more inconvenience of this kind may occur, and am satisfied that local authorities will take every possible means to obviate it.

Vice-Consul Dr. S. M. Hussain will start to-morrow for Medina to place his services at your Highness' disposal, and perhaps it would be well that he should examine and discuss the proposal of not returning by sea but accompanying the Syrian caravan by "Sultani Tarik," which will leave Medina for Mecca after several weeks, a long and difficult journey which, it is to be feared, may bring you fatigued to Arafat, and would afford little time to see Mecca thoroughly.

So I have decided not to take any immediate action for breaking off the arrangements made with the Abbassieh S. S. Company of Egypt, until I shall have received further telegraphic communications from Medina in about ten days' time. A letter showing the agreement made for the S. S. *Behara* to be at Yembu was sent to your Highness a fortnight ago.

Your Highness's messages for H. I. M. the Sultan and appreciation of the courteous reception afforded by the authorities at Medina and at Yembu are being transmitted through the proper channel.

Copy of a letter dated Medina, the 24th December 1903, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to Mr. G. P. Devey, British Consul at Jeddah.

I was glad to receive your letter of 15th instant, and write to thank you for the kind expressions of sympathy therein conveyed and for your kindly despatching messages of thanks to H. I. M. the Sultan.

I am glad to learn of the arrival of the Vice-Consul. I believe you have learnt from his telegram why I have decided to travel by land with the Syrian caravan from Medina. I have addressed you a letter on 16th asking you to break off

the arrangements made with the Manager of S. S. *Behara* so as to avoid payment of unnecessary demurrage, and I hope you have done the needful, as I informed you long before the arrival of the steamer that I was not going through Yembu.

Copy of a letter dated Jeddah, the 28th December 1903, from Mr. G. P. Devey, H. B. M. Consul at Jeddah to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

On receipt of Vice-Consul Hussain's telegram recording your Highness' decision to travel by land with the Syrian caravan from Medina, I hastened to inform the Abbassieh Company's Agent that the S. S. *Behara* would not be needed at Yembu between the 9th and 12th proximo.

Conversation ensued as to rescission of the contract signed here on the 23rd ultimo. I am now pleased to report that on the 26th instant the Agent showed me a telegram worded as follows :—

(Alexandria, Dec. 26). Gallimberti Jeddah Begam Bhopal Ayant préferé voyager Yembu à Jeddah par Behara. Au lien autres bateaux dont proprietaires aspiraient à cette faveur, Princesse étant dame Musalmane qui sait que

le but de la Khassa de S. A. le Khedive est tranquillité confort et facilités des pélerin Musalmans faisant devoir et non-uniquement benefices consequemment pour être agréable à la Princesse Khassa accepte resiliation contract refusant indemnité condition voyage effectue voie terre. Votre commission vous sera payée par Khassa Communiquez exactement Princesse. Obtenez repouse ecrite. Envoyez moi paste, cablant resultat. Hemsy Delegué de la Daire Khassa."

ALLIMBERTI,

Jeddah.

Begam Bhopal having preferred S. S. *Behara* to other steamers for voyage to Jeddah, being Musulman princess who should know that the desire of the Khassa of His Highness the Khedive is quiet, comfort, and assistance of Musulman pilgrims fulfilling their duty and not solely profit;—in order to please Her Highness Khassa agrees to annul contract without compensation on condition her voyage be by land.

Your Commission will be paid you by Khassa. Communicate exactly Princess. Obtain written reply. Send by post, telegraphing result.

Hemsi, Delegate of Daire Khassa.

Your Highness is requested to note that the company rescind the contract without compensation on the sole condition that the journey from Medina be by land.

Copy of a letter dated Jeddah, the 25th February 1904, from N. Gallimberti, Agent to the Daira Khassa of H. H. the Khedive of Egypt, Director of "Abbassieh Steamer," to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal in Mecca.

I have the honour to submit that in reply to your Highness' request of resiliation of the contract entered into between Major Macwatt and me, as Agent for the Daira Khassa of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt for the conveyance of your Highness from Yembu to Jeddah by the S. S. *Behara*, the Daira Khassa of His Highness the Khedive has replied by the following telegram.

(Translation) "Begam Bhopal having preferred travelling Yembu, Jeddah by *Behara* instead of other steamers whose owners wished such honour, Princess being Musulman lady who knows that only object of Khedivial Khassa is rest, comfort, and facilities to Musulman pilgrims, performing doing a duty and not only profits. Consequently to please Princess the Khassa

accepts resiliation contract refusing indemnity on condition voyage be effected overland. Your Commission will be paid by Daira. Communicate exactly Princess obtain written reply which send post wiring result."

"Hemsy."

Copy of a letter dated Medina, the 3rd January 1904, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal to the British Consul at Jeddah.

The Vice-Consul left Medina without telling me or seeing me, I learn that he left four days ago. He should have reached there by this time. I shall be glad to hear of his safe arrival.

I have not yet received any reply from H. I. M. the Sultan regarding my proceeding to Mecca with the Syrian caravan about which I had asked you to wire. I have neither heard if you have stopped the steamer from sailing for Yembu. Kindly let me know about all these matters and oblige.

Copy of a letter No. 4, dated Jeddah, Arabia, the 9th January 1904, from Mr. G. P. Devey, H. B. M. Consul, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Highness's letter of the 3rd instant, and

have also sent you yesterday a registered letter received from Major Macwatt.

I am despatching one registered letter from Major Impey and three others, also four registered and 18 ordinary letters; and your letter to the Vali goes forward to-day.

Dr. Hussain returned safely and very quickly on the 3rd instant. May I be permitted to say that his presence was much needed here. He kept his departure secret fearing lest Bedouins might prepare some mischief on the way, but I regret that his announcement of the abrupt departure had not reached your Highness by the 3rd instant.

I am also sorry that two telegrams which I addressed to Medina on the 26th ultimo did not arrive as they would have explained fully as to the annulment of the ship's contract. In any case you will have received my letter dated the 28th December confirming this matter with full details.

I am taking necessary steps for securing a proper escort to accompany your Highness when proceeding with the Syrian caravan from Medina

and will be able to send you further news very soon.''

During my stay in Medina, I received a telegram from Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib Bahadur announcing the happy news that a son and heir had been born unto him. I telegraphed back in reply that the infant should be named Habibullah Khan, and, regarding the joyful tidings as one of the blessings due to the sacred locality where I was staying, I poured forth my heart in gratitude before the Almighty.

In the month of Ramzan I invited the Shaikh-ul-Haram and his wife to dinner; for breaking the fast is an acknowledged blessing. I treated my guests to Indian dishes which were greatly relished by them.

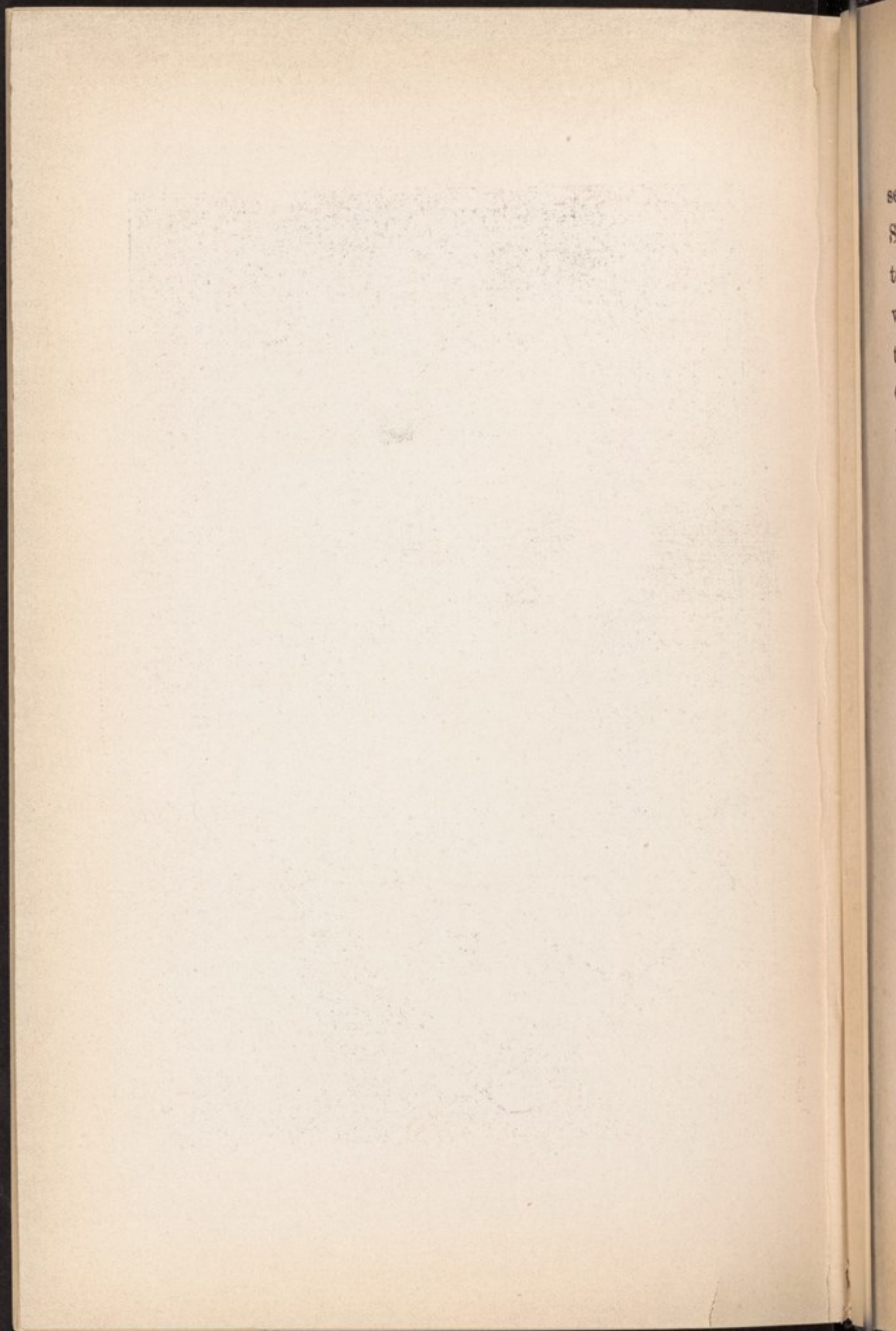
In the meantime a Baluch caravan arrived from Yembu. One of the Baluch chiefs had been murdered by the Bedouins, five men of the party had been badly wounded, and many others had received minor injuries. This incident added to the terrors of those of our people who had orders to start from Medina for Mecca *viâ* Yembu.

The month of Ramzan which for us had been a month of anxiety came to an end and the day of the *Id* arrived. The *Id* prayer is performed very early here. At 7 A.M. the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan and Mian Muhammad Hamidullah Khan accompanied by all the men of our party proceeded to the Prophet's mosque where they followed the Kazi in prayer and performed the service of two prostrations. As the mosque is overcrowded on such occasions, the women could not attend it. I too did not go but performed the service of two prostrations in my own house.

When the prayer was over, the friends of the Shaikh-ul-Haram suggested to the Sahibzadas Ubaidullah and Hamidullah that they should pay the *Id* call on him as this was the local custom. They answered that, according to their usage, when the Shaikh-ul-Haram called upon me, they would pay a return visit to him.

At 9 A.M. the Muftis of the Hanafi and Shafai sects and the Shaikh-ul-Haram accompanied by the interpreter Sayyid Yasin paid the *Id* call. The Shafai Mufti, in pursuance of

the local custom recited an ode eulogising the Prophet (on whom be peace !) and describing the *Id* festival. The concluding part of the poem evidently consisted of a few verses of prayer, for as the Qazi recited them the persons present said Amen. The *Fatiha* (first Chapter of the Quran) was then read after which my visitors took leave of me to call on the Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Bahadur and Mian Hamidullah Khan Bahadur in the men's quarters. Customary refreshments in the shape of *shir* and *khurma* (a preparation of milk and vermicelli sweetened with sugar and enriched with almonds, pistachios, and dried dates), coffee, etc., were placed before them. They ate a little of them and went away. The Sahibzadas Ubaidullah and Hamidullah then proceeded on my behalf, by way of a return visit, to the Government House where the Shaikh-ul-Haram and the Muhafiz Pasha (Governor) were present. The Turkish garrison were drawn up and as the Sahibzadas arrived the troops presented arms. The band at the same time played the national anthem "God Save the Sultan." They then returned to their house, and after the noonday

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

service the Sahibzadas paid an *Id* visit to the Shaikh-ul-Haram at his house, and were treated to tea, coffee, Turkish sweets, and sharbat. The wife of the Shaikh-ul-Haram, the daughter of the Governor and the wife of the Treasurer-General called on me. I treated them to refreshments as required by custom and, having ceremoniously partaken of them, they took their leave.

In this month of Shawwal, Izzatlu Hasan Muzaffar Pasha, Governor of Medina, entertained me and the Sahibzadas at dinner. As the Pasha was the Commander of the Medina garrison, the band, etc., played a special part on this occasion.

On the 6th of Shawwal I received a communication from the Governor, of which the following is a translation :—

"Peace and benedictions ! I beg to inform your Highness that being the Governor of Medina and, as such, responsible for safeguarding the holy city and its suburbs, I have deemed it advisable, in view of the present circumstanes, to direct all the officers in charge of the gates of the holy city not to allow, without reference to me, any of your Highness's Camp followers to

go out of the City either to visit a shrine or for pleasure. The officers have also been informed that in the event of permission being given to any member of your Highness's party to leave the limits of the city, a suitable escort will be provided for him to prevent any mishap. I therefore beg that your Highness will be pleased to announce this to the members of your party. Should any one, in spite of this warning, go out of the city without previously notifying the fact to me and happen to meet with an accident, I shall not be answerable for the consequences. I trust that your Highness will favour me with a reply to this representation.'' The warning conveyed in this letter was duly communicated to all the members of our party.

Several citizens of Mecca had for a long time been in receipt of allowances from the Bhopal State, but no allowance had been given to any one in Medina. With a view, therefore, to earning spiritual grace, I created stipends to the monthly value of Rs. 76 for the benefit of the latter.

On the 24th of Shawwal I distributed among the Turkish officers and troops the sum of

Rs. 2,000 and 12 Qursh through the Governor of Medina.

Hearing that camels could not generally travel with the Syrian caravan and that camels in sufficient numbers to convey the whole of our party with the Syrian caravan were not procurable, I, on the 16th *Zi*-kaad of 1321 Hijra, started off a party of one hundred men in charge of Mian Kamil Muhammad Khan and Bakhshi Ashik Husain Khan to Mecca *viâ* Yembu.

I had altered my programme on the 18th Ramzan and had informed the British Consul at Jeddah with a view to the cancellation of the steamer contract. At the same time I had expressed a desire that the Sublime Porte should be moved to allow the necessary orders to be issued to the officer in charge of the Syrian caravan. The British Consul, accordingly, took steps to secure the desired result and a long correspondence ensued. When, however, no definite answer was received from him till Shawwal, I twice asked him what arrangements had been made for the safety of our party. After awaiting a reply in vain for two days, inquiries were made from the Shaikh-ul-Haram as to whether

he had received any intimation regarding our accompanying the Syrian caravan. But he also could not tell me anything. I then telegraphed to the British Consul-General at Constantinople from whom I received a satisfactory reply. Immediately afterwards I learned from the Shaikh-ul-Haram that His Majesty the Sultan had telegraphed to the officer in charge of the Syrian Mahmil to take us with him and to adopt all measures for our safety. A second telegram came asking me, as soon as the caravan arrived, to show the message to Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha and expressing his gratitude in anticipation for such support as I might receive from the Pasha.

In the meantime one Abu-l-Jud arrived from Mecca with a letter from the Sharif, pointing out that the man whom I had appointed as my Muzawwir (a religious guide to a pilgrimage) had no claim to the post, but that the bearer of the missive was the rightful claimant. This man said a good many things in his own praise. None of my ancestors had ever visited Medina before me and thus no family Muzawwir had been appointed. In Medina it is the custom for each Muzawwir to take charge of the pilgrims

from 10 or 20 cities. Bhopal is included in the Muzawwirship of one Muhamad Hammad and I had, therefore, chosen him as guide. Now a new difficulty arose as Abu-l-Jud claimed the right.

It was the month of Zikaad and the season of pilgrimage was drawing near. From letters received from those members of our party who had proceeded direct from Jeddah to Mecca, I learned that the Sharif was annoyed. The Sharif had in the first instance housed my men in a building owned by Sayyad Safi but had made them leave the place under a threat on the *Id* day. On hearing this I addressed a letter to the Sharif telling him that I was prepared to punish my men if they had committed any fault. The letter now received through the man Abu-l-Jud showed clearly that the Sharif was very angry with me.

When Abu-l-Jud raised this quarrel and brought a recommendation from the Sharif I told him that I had already appointed Muhammad Hammad as my Muzawwir and that if he had come at first his claim would have been considered. However I settled the matter by giving

each of them a sum of Rs. 30 and arranging that Abu-l-Jud should act as Muzawwir for such pilgrims from Bhopal as might come later.

The following is a copy of the correspondence exchanged in connection with the departure of our party in company with the Syrian caravan:—

Copy of a letter dated the 20th January 1904, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, to His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jeddah.

I am in receipt of your letter of 9th January together with registered letters from Majors Macwatt and Impey and 18 other letters. I also received copy of a telegram which you had sent to the Governor of Hijaz.

I regret that your letter of 28th December to which you refer did not reach me, and believe it has also been miscarried like those two telegrams about which you have written. However, your letter informs me that the agreement with the steamer has been cancelled.

Please accept my thanks for the arrangement which you are making for my escort when travelling with the Syrian caravan.

Copy of a telegram dated Medina, the 31st January 1904, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, to British Consul, Jeddah.

Syrian caravan shortly expected, received no news whether Sultan arranged for my journey with this caravan.

Copy of a telegram dated Medina, the 3rd February 1904, from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, to British Consul at Constantinople.

We were fired at on our way from Yembu. Bullets fell close my son. Matter reported to Sultan through Consul, Jeddah. Propose going Mecca with Syrian caravan which is shortly expected. Received no intimation if caravan officer has orders to convey me safely. Wired Consul, Jeddah. Receiving no reply, think connection broken. Neither yet heard from Vali and Sharif.

Translation of letter addressed to Usman Pasha, the Shaikh-ul-Haram, dated 18th Ramzan 1321 A. H.

"I shall be very grateful to you if you will kindly convey to H. I. M. the Sultan on my behalf my sincere thanks for the kind attention and protection which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend to me, for detailing troops to escort me, and for enabling us to reach Medina in

peace and safety and to encamp close to the holy shrine. Kindly at the same time express my gratitude to His Majesty for the fact that both the Muhafiz and the Shaikh-ul-Haram Pashas, as well as all the officials in the holy city have accorded me more than customary honour and courtesy. It is now my intention to prolong my stay at Medina and then to proceed to Mecca with the caravan from Syria. Therefore I venture to hope that you will, on your part, show like courtesy in making the necessary arrangements; moreover H. I. M. the Sultan's uniform kindness gives me full confidence that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to issue the requisite orders and command the officer in charge of the caravan to take me safely from Medina to Mecca."

A letter couched in similar terms was, on the same date, despatched to the Muhafiz Pasha at Medina.

Copy of a letter dated Medina, the 5th February 1904, from Her Highness the Nawab Begam of Bhopal, to British Consul, Jeddah.

I addressed you several letters and telegrams, but I am sorry that no reply has yet been received to any of them, nor do I know what arrangement

is made with regard to my travelling with the Syrian caravan. Of course, I received only one letter from you, dated 9th January, in which you said that you were arranging for my escort to proceed with the Syrian caravan. Since then I know no further as to what has been done. In the same letter you informed me about your sending me two telegrams and one letter dated the 28th December. It is very surprising that neither of them reached me. The date of the Syrian caravan's arrival at Medina is fast approaching, and it is rumoured here that the telegraph wire towards Jeddah is broken. At last I was obliged to wire to the British Ambassador at Constantinople. A copy of the telegram is herewith annexed.

I am not aware if the contract with the S. S. *Behara* was cancelled in due time. The Shami Mahmil is shortly expected here, so I am very anxious and shall be much obliged if you furnish me full account which will greatly relieve me.

Copy of a letter dated Jeddah, the 6th February 1904, from Mr. G. P. Devey, H. B. M. Consul, to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, Medina.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of yesterday, and to

inform that inquiry having been made through the local Governor from Mecca telegraphic reply has been received to the following effect :—

Lt.-Colonel Basim Bey with sufficient soldiers will escort the party of your Highness from Medina and the Shaikh-ul-Haram and the Muhafiz have been instructed to take all the necessary measures for the safety and comfort of the party. Besides this the Muhafiz of the Syrian Mahmil has also been instructed to take especial care of the party, and His Highness the Grand Sharif has, to-day, sent Bisha soldiers under Sharif Ahmad bin Mansoor to Medina to provide extra escort, and the abovenamed Sharif also carries letters for your Highness, the Shaikh-ul-Haram and the Muhafiz. On your Highness's arrival at Mecca an official reception will be given with all the honours due to your Highness' rank.

With all these precautions, I hope your Highness will arrive at Mecca without any hindrance and discomfort (on the road). Instead of sending a telegram I am writing this letter as it conveys full detail of all the measures taken, and as it is being sent by a special messenger it

may reach Medina as quickly as a telegram which sometimes takes a week or more.''

After receiving this information (*i.e.*, from Mr. Devey's letter) we felt quite relieved and were satisfied that complete arrangements had been made for our leaving Medina with the caravan.

Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Sahib Bahadur used often to communicate to me any pieces of information which he happened to gather from the inhabitants of the place. Thus he informed me unless provisions were immediately made for a supply of camels we should not be able to obtain any to convey us when the time came for us to join the Syrian caravan, for it had been ascertained on inquiry that, at the time when the caravan was expected to leave, the hire of these animals usually rose to any sum from Rs. 200 to 250 per head. We therefore wrote the following letter to the Muhafiz Pasha at Medina in order that reasonable provision might be made for camels :—

Translation of letter to the Muhafiz Pasha, Medina, dated 8th Shawwal 1321 A. H.

'' Will you be so kind as to write and let me know in full detail what is the rate at which hire

will be charged for camels preceding and accompanying the Syrian caravan ? Please inform me also whether *Shaghdaf* and *Shibri* can be fitted on to the camels going with the caravan."

In reply to this he enquired on the 9th Shawwal how many camels we should be likely to want. To this inquiry the following answer was sent on the 11th Shawwal 1321 A. H. :—

Copy of letter to the Muhafiz Pasha, Medina.

"In reply to your letter of the 9th Shawwal 1321 A. H., I beg to say that I hope that it will be possible to carry on the camels of the Syrian caravans all the *Shaghdaf* and *Shibri* which has come with us from Yembu because most of it is in a sound and undamaged condition. The number of camels that will be required for our party may be estimated at one hundred and twenty-five as detailed below, namely :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Takt-i-rawan ... ... ... | 8 |
| Shaghdaf ... ... ... | 45 |
| Shibri ... ... ... | 52 |
| Baggage ... ... ... | 20 |

The Shaikh-ul-Haram Pasha also, on his part, telegraphed to Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha requesting him to bring fifty camels with him to be paid for at the rate of Rs. 150 a head. In a word,

after much effort and exertion the requisite number of camels were got together.

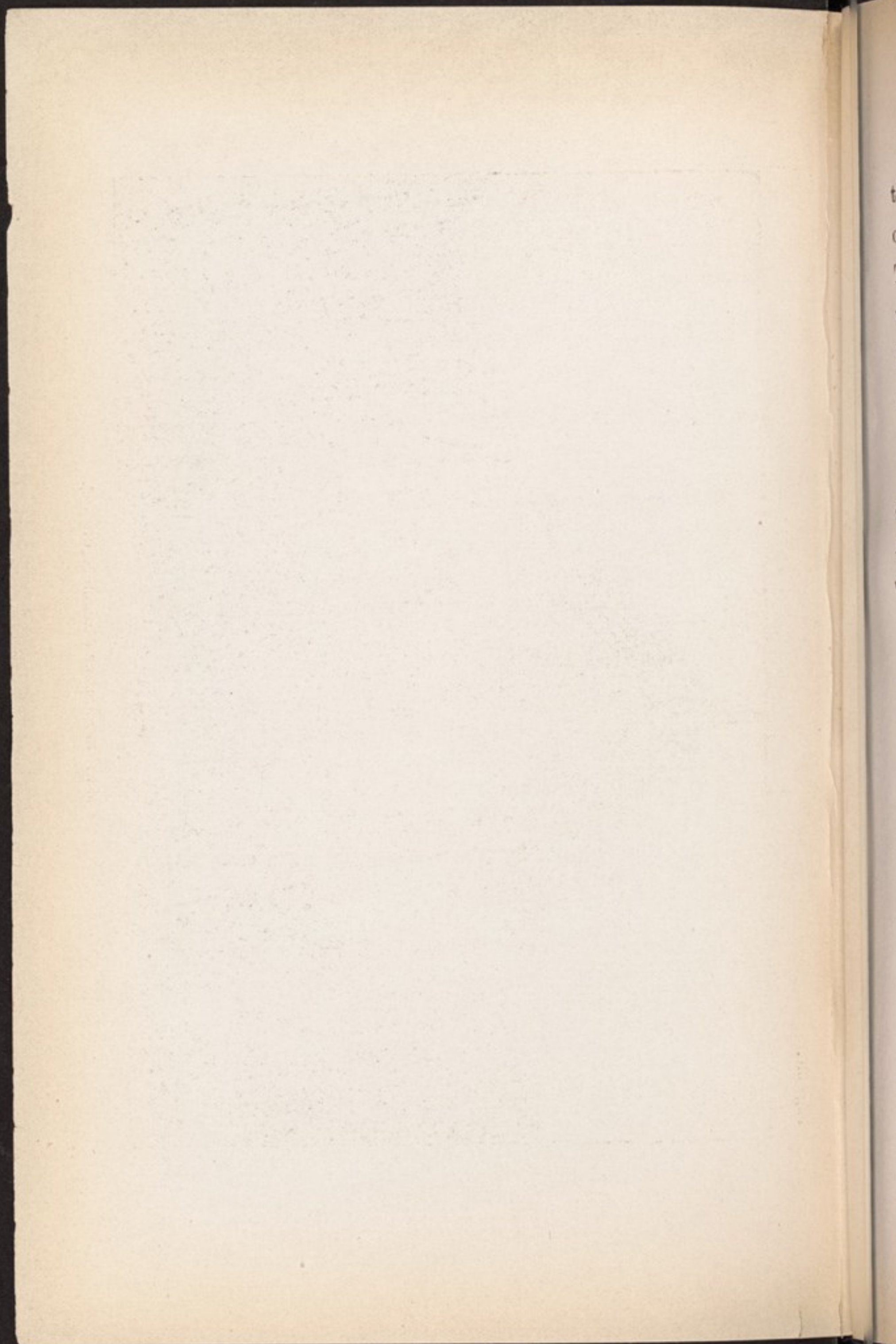
On the 24th Shawwal 1321 A. H. there was a festival in commemoration of Hamza ibn Abd-ul Mutalib. Several noblemen and gentlemen of our suite went to pay their respects to the memory of the saint, but as nothing noteworthy occurred in connection with the event I forbear from making more than a passing allusion to it.

On the 24th Zi-kaad 1321 A. H. the caravan from Syria entered Medina. Those of our party who went to see it reported that the caravan had halted as usual at the public halting ground.

The sacred equipage (Mahmil) may be thus described: On a very large and powerful camel is fastened a square *amari* surmounted by a dome. In this *amari* is carried the cloth cover or casing intended for the holy Kaaba. The hangings of the *amari* are green and gold. Following this is another camel on which is carried the *Bairak* or royal standard. The Shaikh-ul-Haram and the Muhafiz Pashas as well as all the grandees and other men of position join in receiving this equipage when it arrives, and generally both men and women are allowed to be present at the reception.

The equipage reached the "Gate of Peace" (Bab-us-Salam) of the Prophet's shrine at 11 o'clock; full royal honours were paid to it in its progress; a guard-of-honour composed partly of local troops and partly of the troops that accompanied it formed an escort and the whole procession marched to the music of a brass band.

The following is a description of the Bab-us-Salam:—It is a platform adjoining the threshold of a door, about one foot lower than the threshold. It has room to seat about thirty people. The sides of it are lined with shelves intended for the shoes of those who enter the sacred building. The elevation of the platform above the level of the ground is such that its top is reached by three flights of steps, yet the camel laden with its equipage was made to climb up to this platform and kneel on it, in doing which the animal immediately put its head on the sacred threshold with an air of the utmost reverence. The trappings were then taken off the animal by men of high position, like the Muhafiz and Shaikh-ul-Haram Pashas and Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha, and the *amari* was carried by them into the mosque of the Prophet. It was placed under the fifth of the arches supporting

Mahmil Shareef (Sacred Equipage).

the edifice in the first row of the second platform of the Osmanli pavilion. The crowd was large. The women gave expression to their pleasure by whistling while the men shouted. So long as the Syrian caravan halted at Medina the holy equipage (Mahmil) remained in the Prophet's mosque.

Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Bahadur and Sahibzada Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Bahadur were present when the sacred palanquin was taken off the camel's back.

On the same day Abd-ur-Rauf Khan, Offg. Deputy Mir Munshi to our party during our tour in the Hijaz, was sent to Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha to ascertain the terms of our contract with reference to the hire of camels and sundry other matters connected with the journey. When he reached the Pasha's tent he found the space round it crowded with armed Bedouins from the neighbourhood whose Shaikhs were inside the tent. He therefore stationed himself in a place from which he could watch everything that was going on. What passed between Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha and the Shaikh in his presence was something of this kind.

He found that one of the Shaikhs, who appeared to be very arrogant, was telling the Pasha that there was going to be a tremendous disturbance as he and his followers were quite prepared and well armed. Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha replied quite calmly and indifferently "If there is any trouble it will be bad for you and not for us." On this the Shaikh again repeated with growing insolence "But, Pasha, I assure you there will be a disturbance and the Indian lady will not be allowed to go." Then the Pasha, who had a sword lying near him, exclaimed angrily: "She will most assuredly go in spite of what you say and, what is more, she will tread on your necks in going. Do you not know that she is the guest of H. I. M. the Sultan and that I have been entrusted with her safety? What I am telling you is merely what His Majesty has ordered; if you contravene His Majesty's orders your settlements will be destroyed, your habitations burnt down, and your hill fastnesses, on which you place so much reliance, broken into little pieces which will be scattered to the four winds as if they were flakes of cotton. Then, laying his hand menacingly on the hilt of his sword, he said:—" Shall

I give you a practical demonstration of the way in which His Majesty's orders are carried out?"

At the mention of the Sultan's name all the Shaikhs bowed their heads in token of submission. They said that it was not in a spirit of insubordination that they were urging what they had urged. They were merely asking him not to cause them to lose the emoluments to which they were entitled by immemorial custom, particularly as he knew their rights and was aware that their dues had not been paid to them.

Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha replied that he would not recommend them to the generosity of H. H. the Begam of Bhopal, nor would he, on the other hand, stand in the way if Her Highness were inclined to give them something of her own accord. After this the Shaikhs were given leave to depart and Abd-ur-Rauf Khan, having obtained the information he was seeking, came back.

A little before our departure another banquet was given to us by the Muhafiz Pasha of Medina. It may be described as a farewell entertainment. Its sumptuousness was in no way inferior to that of previous functions of the kind.

One hundred and nine camels were hired by us at different rates for the total sum of Rs. 14,061 to go with the Syrian caravan.

On Saturday, the 27th Zi-kaad, that is, the 13th February 1904 A. D., we put on our pilgrim robes and presented ourselves at the shrine of the Prophet to pay our last and respectful farewell. Late in the afternoon, having left Medina, we halted at the *Bir* (well) of Ali with the Syrian caravan.

About 248 officers and soldiers were added to our retinue here, *viz.* :—

| | *Name.* | | *Rank.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Izzutlu Mustafa Basin Beg | ... | Lieutenant. |
| 2. | Muhammad Saleh Effendi | ... | Mufti. |
| | etc. etc. | etc. | |

Leaving this place the next day, Sunday, the 28th Zi-kaad, we took the road to Mecca. Although the dangers of the route were in no way less than those experienced by us between Yembu and Medina, yet, owing partly to the awe inspired by the imposing appearance of the Syrian caravan and partly to the excellent measures of precaution taken by Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha (the Amir-ul-Askar), the Bedouins did not dare to molest us during three entire stages of the journey and we encountered no danger for that space.

At the third stage, however, Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha told Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaid-ullah Khan Sahib that he had received information to the effect that the Sharif had imprisoned the Shaikh of the Bir-i-Main pretending that he was holding him as a hostage and threatening to put him to death if order was not maintained along the route by which the Begam was coming. "But," Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha added, "this is merely a pretext on the part of the Sharif for holding the Shaikh prisoner, the real object is to try and bring disgrace upon *me*; for the Shaikh is a friend of mine, and it is possible that, owing to his absence, his tribe may get out of hand and attempt some mischief."

Sahibzada Ubaidullah Khan carved out a plan for my safe travel which he mentioned to Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha who approved of it. It was settled that I should travel playing a dodge. So the *takht-i-rawan* in which I used to travel was left empty. The Commander of the Body-guard was apprized of the fact, but was instructed to keep the usual escort with it, and I was given a lift in another one which generally used to be carried empty and belonged to some

Syrian Amir. This *takht-i-rawan* was ordered to be carried ahead of the whole caravan. This dodge proved a great success. I was quite safe though several bullets fell close to the *takht-i-rawan* I was travelling in.

The Turkish troops returned this fire, but owing to the rocky nature of the ground it was a most difficult matter for any one to attempt to scale the hill whence the fire came. Ever since the previous stage of the journey we had known that danger was to be apprehended in this locality, and everything possible had been done to avert it, but our efforts had not proved successful. And now the bullets pelted down upon us from the hill in question. The Turkish Commander with remarkable promptitude ordered a portion of his men to carry it by assault. These began to climb with the utmost courage and perseverance; a hail of musketry was directed at them from the crest of the hill, but they continued to mount in the face of it with the coolest deliberation. As the Bedouins were invisible behind cover, it was a long time before the Turkish artillery could be

brought into action with any perceptible effect. The engagement lasted over two hours.

In this engagement Sulaiman Agha, the *Yuzbashi* (an officer) of the troops from Jeddah which were accompanying us, lost his life, and it was reported that the enemy also had several of their number killed. But by the mercy of Providence every one belonging to the caravan came off unscathed. In the end these disaffected Bedouins, finding that they could not stand up against the Ottoman guns, left their positions and retreated precipitately ; at the same time the column told off to assault the hill gained its summit, and, safety being in this manner secured, the caravan resumed its march. After this, through the mercy of God, no danger of any kind was encountered by us on the way.

At 12 o'clock on Tuesday, the 6th *Zi*-Hijja, corresponding to the 23rd February 1904 A. D., we entered Mecca. H. E. Ahmad Ratib Pasha, the Vali of Hijaz, and H. H. Aun-ur Rafik Pasha, the Sharif of Mecca, with a Turkish guard-of-honour of regular and irregular troops with regimental music, came outside the holy city as far as the Place of the Martyrs to receive us with

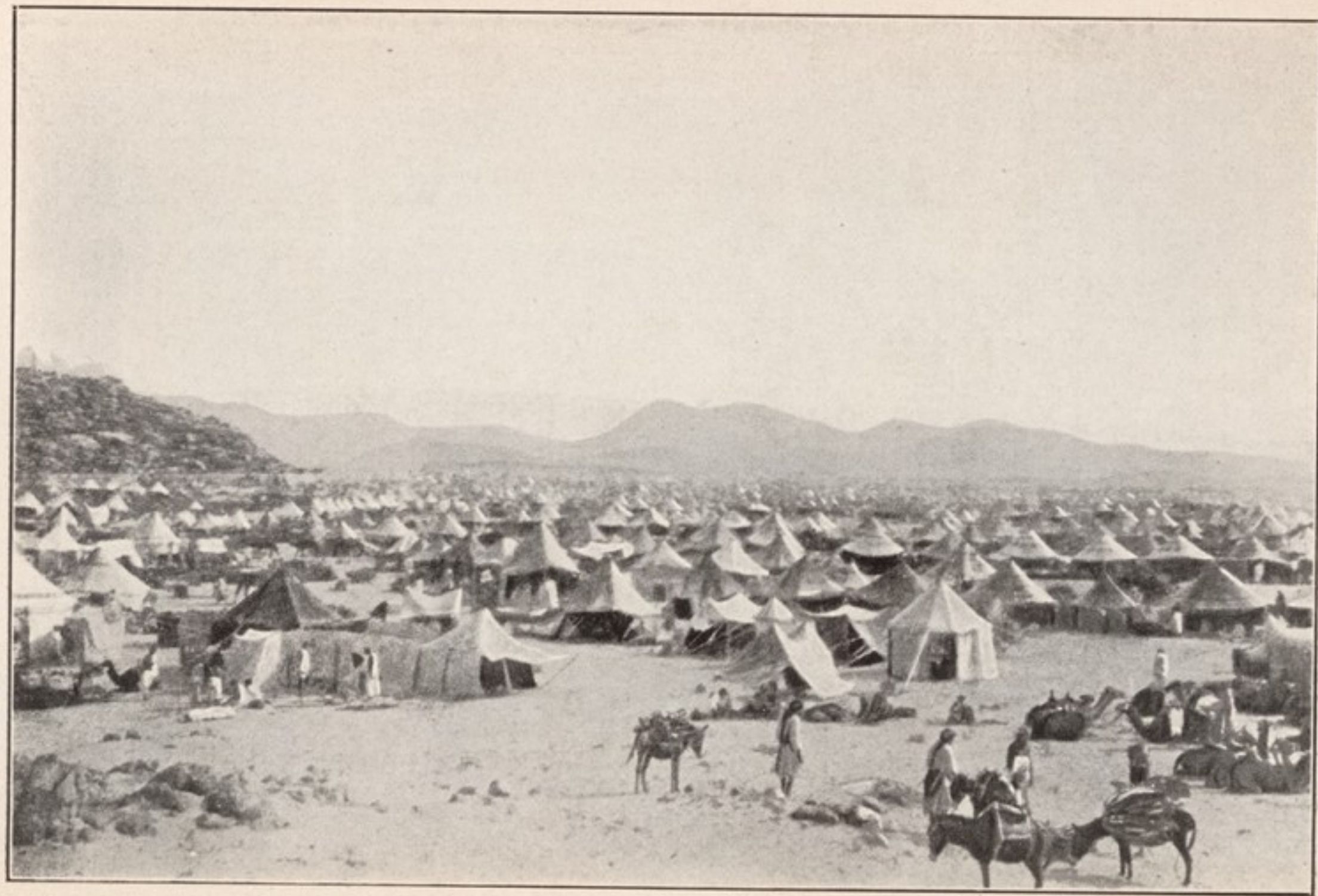
the usual honours, the band playing and the guns firing the salute. In this way we reached our quarters in the town attended by every mark of honour and respect. The house selected for our residence was that of Ahmad Lao.

On Wednesday, the 7th Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H., we sent the following directions in writing to Sahibzada Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan:—

**Copy of instructions to Sahibzada Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan, dated the 7th Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H.**

"When we arrived here yesterday H. H. the Sharif of Mecca and H. E. the Vali of Hijaz did us the honour of coming out of the city as far as the Place of the Martyrs to receive us. You are therefore instructed to pay a visit to both these officers on our behalf. On your return you are to report to us the nature of your reception there and their demeanour towards you. After the performance of *Haj* ceremonies I shall also call upon them."

During our stay in Mecca the following persons called upon me, namely:—The Grand Sharif and his wife; Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha, the Governor of Damascus, Ahmad Ratib Pasha, the Vali of the Hijaz, Shaikh Muhammad Salih Shaibi;

Page 324.

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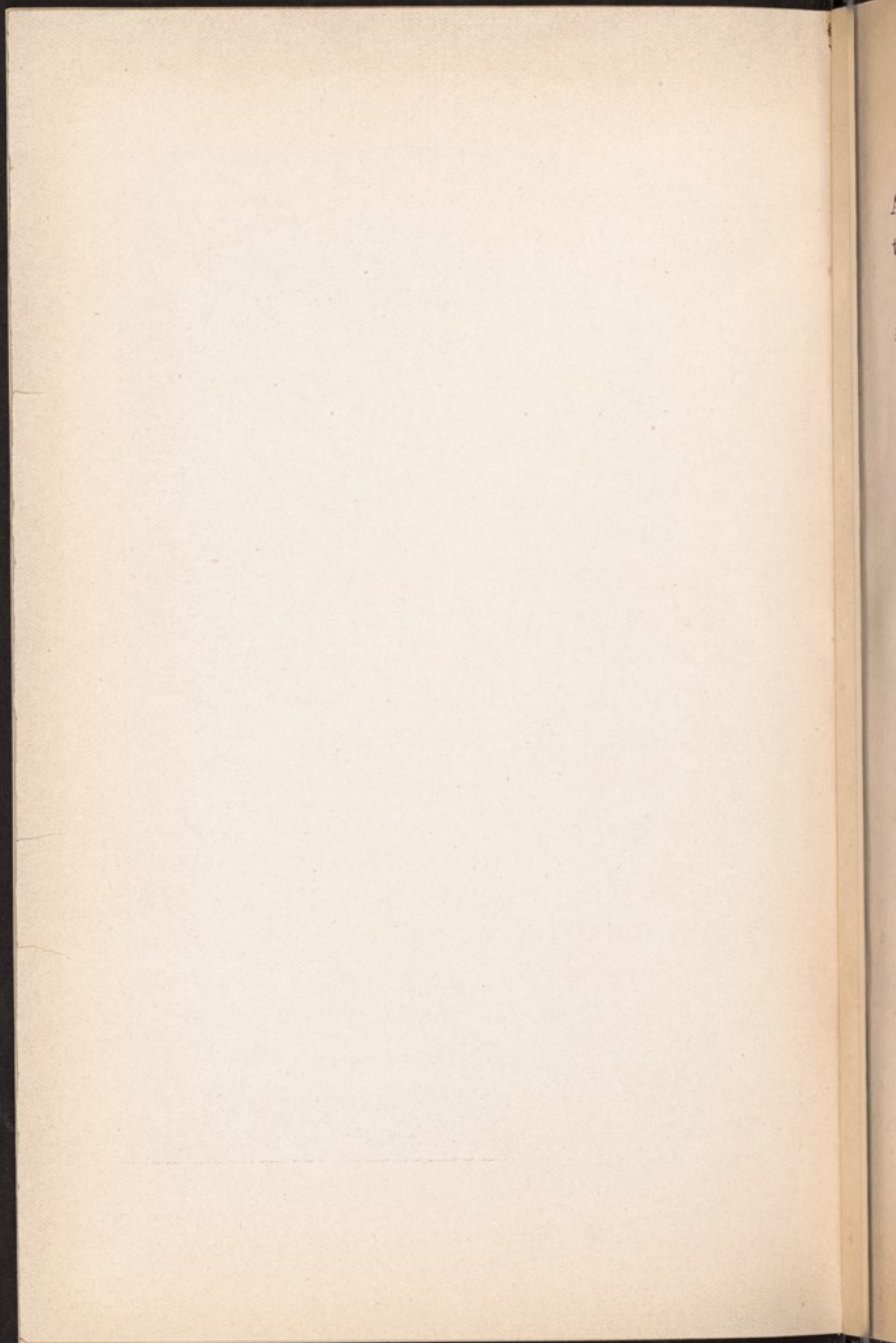

Ali Pasha, and the Egyptian Pasha, and I returned the calls of the Sharif and of Ahmad Ratib Pasha.

In order to conform to the ritual of the pilgrimage on entering the *haram* or sacred precincts, we performed the *tawaf* (circumambulation of the Kaaba) and the *sai* (perambulation of the holy precincts).

We repaired to Arafat on the 8th Zi-Hijja and performed the *Haj* on the 9th. The other ceremonies connected with the pilgrimage at Mina and Muzdalifa occupied us till the 12th when we returned to Mecca in the evening.

We had all along been aware of the unfriendliness of the Sharif, but the gracious kindness of the Sultan and the frank sincerity of the Turkish officials had given him no opportunity of openly displaying his antagonism towards us. I had fixed the 20th Zi-Hijja, corresponding to the 8th March 1904 A. D., for my departure from Mecca. On that day the Vice-Consul brought a letter addressed to him by the Sharif which said that, as H. H. the Begam of Bhopal was intending to leave soon, she must pay the rent of the house she had stayed in for the last three or four days and that this rent amounted to

15,000 rupees. This letter the Vice-Consul showed to Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan. The latter asked to be allowed to show it to Her Highness but the Vice-Consul would not let him have it and went back to his quarters. The Sahibzada Sahib mentioned the matter to me, and I wrote to the Vice-Consul asking him for the Sharif's letter. Here is a copy of my letter:—

Letter to Khan Bahadur Dr. Muhammad Hussain Sahib, H. B. M. Vice-Consul at Jeddah, dated 18th Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H.

"I have learnt to-day that you have received a letter from the Sharif demanding through you the rent of the house in which we are staying. I should, therefore, be much obliged to you if you would kindly write to me and also favour me with a copy of the Sharif's letter in order that a settlement may be made of the rent."

But even so he did not send me the letter in question. All the money I had taken with me had, by this time, come to an end. To provide against emergencies I had furnished myself with a letter of credit from Abd-ul-Ghaffar, the Delhi merchant, who had promised to advance as much as a lakh of rupees to me through his agents if

needed. I sent for his servant and asked him for some money. He said it was quite impossible to provide the requisite sum on that day, but that he would be able to give it in a day or two. In the meantime the Vice-Consul began dunning me on one hand with demand after demand for payment, while on the other hand, the Sharif pressed his claim with an undue insistence which passed the limits of good manners, so that I was compelled to address the following message to the British Consul at Jeddah.

Copy of telegraphic message addressed to H. B. M. Consul at Jeddah, 8th March 1904.

"The Sharif asks £1,000 rent for the house in which he forced me to stay. This being the end of our tour, I have not enough money left to suffice both for travelling expenses and for the rent. I have, therefore, postponed my departure fixed for to-day, and may possibly not be able to leave until the rent is paid. So if you will kindly telegraph to the Sharif that the money will be paid through you, I shall be able to leave the place. I will remit you the amount on regaining my State; there is no one here from whom the sum could be borrowed."

The arrangements for sending telegrams are so lamentably bad in those parts that no message can be despatched unless it has first been read by the Vali. When, therefore, my telegram was sent to the office to be signalled, the Censor of Telegraphs took it to the Vali and advised him not to allow it to be sent, saying that it was in his opinion inexpedient to let a complaint of that nature travel far as it would be damaging to the honour of the Ottoman Government. The Vali thereupon sent his Secretary to me. Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan saw the man coming and asked his business. The Secretary replied that he had come to fetch Maulvi Azam Husain Khan as the Vali had some business with him. The Maulvi was away shopping in the town and was a long time returning, but the Sahibzada Sahib, after much trouble, managed to glean from the Secretary the nature of his errand. In the meanwhile the Maulvi also came up. The Secretary explained the whole matter and ended by saying: "This is what the Vali has said to me: Give my respectful salaams to Her Highness and tell her that the Sharif is not only bringing shame upon his own head but is dragging us into disgrace

as well. Your Highness is the guest of H. I. M. the Sultan, and if His Majesty hears of this affair, he will be very displeased with us. I had already provided a house for your Highness near the Holy Place but, seeing that it had pleased your Highness to write direct to the Sharif for a house, I said nothing more about the matter."

Accordingly Maulvi Azam Husain went with my permission to the Vali. On his return he made his report to me. This report, which runs as follows, sets forth all the details of this affair.

Copy of report made to us by Maulvi Azam Husain on the 20th Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H.

" In obedience to the invitation of the Vali of Hijaz and to your Highness' commands, I went to-day to the Vali. For the information of your Highness I am herein setting forth the reason why I was sent for by the Vali and what the Vali said to me.

The telegram addressed to the British Consul at Jeddah which your Highness sent to the Telegraph Office and which related to the thousand pounds demanded from you as house rent by the Sharif, was sent by the Censor to the Vali accom-

panied by the advice that it would not be wise to allow a complaint of that kind to travel so far because it might compromise the honour of the Ottoman Government. Thereupon the Vali sent for me and expressed to me his deep regret at such conduct on the part of the Sharif, and, by way of apology and reassurance, added that the house was not worth so much rent, the sum asked being exorbitant; that, as your Highness is the guest of H. M. the Sultan, no rent could be lawfully taken from you, and lastly that, even supposing that it had been permissible to charge rent, the demand ought to have come from him as it was he and not the Sharif who had provided the house in which your Highness is staying. The Sharif, as a matter of fact, had nothing to do with it.

Then referring to the Amir (Sharif) he said that the man seemed to be in his dotage, that his ideas were those of a Bedouin and that no importance ought to be attached to his words and acts as he was very fickle, changing his mind frequently. Then the Vali went on to explain that he had been quite in the dark about the correspondence which had taken place with

reference to the rent and that he had felt extremely pained when he heard of it. It was just that kind of thing which not only humiliated them but also earned a bad reputation for the Ottoman Government. The Vali ended by requesting me to represent to your Highness that it was neither expedient nor necessary to send the telegram as nobody had any right to ask any rent for the house and that, if anybody *did* ask for it, your Highness was under no obligation whatever to pay it.

In reply to this I said, that I would represent these matters to your Highness and then act according to your Highness' commands.''

As we did not in the least wish that no return should be made in consideration of our short stay in the house in question, we sent Munshi Mansab Ali, the Mir Munshi to our expedition, and Maulvi Azam Husain with one thousand sovereigns to the Vali accompanied by a note requesting him to send the money through his intermediation to the Sharif and, if he thought the amount excessive, to send as much as he thought proper so that at any rate a fitting recompense should not

fail ultimately to reach the Sharif, its amount depending on the Vali's pleasure.

The report presented to me by these gentlemen on their return from the Vali's is here set forth for the better elucidation of the facts of the case.

Copy of the second report of Maulvi Azam Husain, 21st Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H.

"In obedience to your Highness' orders I went to the Vali of Hijaz with the thousand sovereigns and your Highness' letter. The Vali after reading the letter told me that it would be inconsistent with the honour of the Ottoman Government to take even a penny from the Sultan's guest. It was in vain that I urged the Vali to take the sum and have it sent on to the Sharif or to deduct any portion of it he thought fit and hand the same over to the proprietor of the house, but he would not hear of accepting the sum either as a whole or in part, so I was compelled to return bringing the money back with me. I submit this report for your Highness' information."

As no adequate provision for camels had been made by the Sharif by that date, we had to stay

on until the 22nd *Zi*-Hijja corresponding to the 10th of March.

Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Bahadur, in consideration of the fact that the Vice-Consul had been making arrangements for pilgrims, and that six or seven thousand of these had already started and yet there was no sign of any arrangements being made for ourselves, deputed Sirdar Mirza Karim Beg and Captain Muhammad Husain Khan to go to the Vice-Consul and invite him to come to us. These gentlemen came back and reported that the Vice-Consul was so busily engaged with heaps of sovereigns in front of him that he could not pay any attention to them. When they insisted once or twice on being heard and told him that the Sahibzada Sahib had sent for him and that Her Highness had complained of no camels having yet been provided and invited him to come with them, he answered "I am too busy with arranging for these pilgrims and cannot spare the time to go with you." It does not seem out of place to remark here that, considering that the British Government and the Consul at Jeddah had with such courtsey and solicitude done everything to

secure our comfort and safety, it seemed strange that the Vice-Consul who was a servant of the same British Government and, as a matter of duty, primarily responsible for our safety, should rebuff us in this manner.

In a word, from that day forth the Vice-Consul somehow never could manage to find the time to come and see me. He only showed his face when I had actually embarked on board ship to start for home. The Vali of Hijaz made the necessary preparations for providing camels.

On the 21st Zi-Hijja, Ali Pasha (who is the nephew of the Sharif of Mecca and the son of the Sharif Abdulla) sent me a chestnut mare with a message saying that when H. H. the late Begam came to make the pilgrimage his father had made her a present of two horses, therefore he hoped that I too would accept his gift. Accordingly the mare was placed in my stable and a few articles in the way of textile fabrics and arms were sent to the donor of it as presents.

On the 22nd Zi-Hijja, when the transport arrangements had been completed, we left Mecca for Jeddah in the morning in company with the cara-

van. Two hundred and thirty-three Turkish officers and soldiers escorted us to Jeddah.

Ahmed Ratib Pasha, the Vali of the Hijaz, made very good arrangements for our return journey as far as Jeddah, and Ali Pasha sent his personal bodyguard with us.

At Bahira they put me up in a rest-house, so that I spent a very comfortable night. Although we had not been inconvenienced on the way by the Bedouins, yet I had been so uncomfortable in the *takht-i-rawan* travelling from Mecca that the comforts of that house appeared to me by contrast to be in no way inferior to those enjoyed in the *Sadr Manzil.*

On the 23rd Zi-Hijja, corresponding to Friday, the 11th March, we arrived at Jeddah in the evening. We had been informed by a letter of February 27th, 1904, from Captain Baldwin, Commanding the S. S. *Akbar*, that his ship was in the roadstead, so immediately on reaching Jeddah we, together with the Shahryar Dulhan and Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan and Muhammad Hamidullah Khan, stepped on board the steam launch, which had been kept ready for us at the quay at Jeddah, and were con-

veyed to the *Akbar*. But, as it was impossible to transport all our party with the whole of their baggage at once on boardship, the continual stream of people belonging to our party, retinue, etc., with their luggage and impediments kept on flowing into the ship until the afternoon of the 25th Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H., Sunday, the 13th March 1904. In the meanwhile our safe arrival at Jeddah had been telegraphed to Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha, Ahmad Ratib Pasha, Vali of the Hijaz, Ali Pasha, and the Sharif Aun-ur-Rafik Pasha-Amir of Mecca, through the British Consul at Jeddah, in reply to which these gentlemen sent messages expressing their satisfaction.

Mr. G. P. Devey, H. B. M. Consul at Jeddah, and Khan Bahadur Dr. Muhammad Husain, Vice-Consul, came on board to see us off. It may be as well to mention here that the luggage left behind at Yembu came up with Bakkshi Ashik Husain Khan and Kamil Muhammad Khan, and that those things which had been left behind in Jeddah were picked up again in the same way.

On Sunday, the 25th Zi-Hijja 1321 A. H., being the 13th March 1904 A. D., late in the afternoon, the ship weighed anchor and we left

for home. Before leaving we wrote a letter to the Consul at Jeddah of which a copy is appended here.

Copy of a letter dated the 13th March 1904 from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, to H. B. M. Consul at Jeddah.

As the Daira Khassa of H. H. the Khedive of Egypt has out of his national sympathy acquiesced in the annulment of the contract made with the S. S. *Behara,* I ask you to convey my thanks to H. H. for the same and if you think it proper, please enquire the amount of Commission which the Daira Khassa of H. H. may have to pay to the owners of the ship, that I may pay the same. I shall be still more obliged to H. H. if he will accept the expenses incurred by him in sending telegrams and for other items. If His Highness accepts this, I hope I shall be informed.

I enclose herewith a letter addressed to H. H. the Khedive and a telegram for His Holiness the Sherif of Mecca for transmission.

Copy of a letter dated the 13th March 1904 from Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, to His Highness the Khedive of Egypt.

I am extremely obliged to your Highness for the kind assistance rendered to me in cancel-

ling the contract as regards the S. S. *Behara.* I address these few lines to your Highness to express my heartfelt gratitude.

On Thursday, the 29th Zi-Hijja, 17th March 1904 A. D., our ship anchored in the harbour at Aden at 9 A.M., but the Health Officer of the Port, as has been mentioned before, did not permit any of my party to land owing to there being cholera in the Hijaz. We weighed anchor thence after sunset, and on the 7th Muharram 1322 A. H., the 25th of March 1904, the ship entered the roadstead at Bombay late in the evening.

We had telegraphed from Aden to Major L. Impey, Political Agent at Bhopal, and to Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan Sahib, informing them of the time at which we were due at Bombay, and we had also instructed them to bring the Baby Birjis Jahan Begam with them by Thursday's mail train. Accordingly these gentlemen were already in Bombay together with several high officials of the State. When the ship entered the roadstead, it was quite dark, and as, according to the usual custom, she could not be brought into the dock until the next morning, these people came alongside by boat that night and saw us.

On Saturday, the 8th Muharram, 26th March 1904 A. D., the ship was taken into the dock at 10 o'clock in the morning and we, through the merciful bounty of God, stepped on land after our long sea voyage.

Major Macwatt took leave of us after helping us to land. On our arrival the official guard-of-honour with a band was mustered on the quay. It presented arms at our coming ashore and the guns fired the usual salute. It had been previously arranged that all belonging to our party should be sent on by special train to Bhopal on the day of our arrival at Bombay, and that we ourselves with a few necessary members of our suite should stay on in Bombay for some days and then proceed to Bhopal. Accordingly we kept about forty persons with us in Bombay and sent the rest of the party on the same day to Bhopal with the Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan. I put up in the Muzaffar-abad Hall. At the end of our stay in Bombay we inspected the Girls' School and found it satisfactory.

We visited the Mills also and were greatly pleased with their work.

During this time H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda, who was staying in Bombay, came to see me. I saw him.

Our stay in Bombay lasted until the 16th Muharram 1322 A. H.

Near the time of our return Nawab Nasrullah Khan had arranged in the following manner for illuminating and decorating the town of Bhopal for the festivities which were to be held in honour of our home-coming:—

A triumphal arch bearing the word "Welcome" had been erected at the railway station near the Sikandar Sarai, through which our carriage was to pass. Then a little farther on, by the masonry bridge, there was a similar arch. The space between these two arches was bedizened with gay flags and bunting which were carried on to the third arch, situated near Hakikat Khan's Mosque, and terminated at the Moti Masjid. A fourth triumphal arch was erected outside the enclosure of the Kotwal's office and a succession of large flags met the eyes in this direction. Adjoining the Shah Jahan Gate of this building two temporary gates were erected for purposes of illumination; these faced north and south respec-

tively. Here terminated a series of trellis-work screens for carrying lights. The top of the Shah Jahan Gate had been adorned with glass crescents facing east and west. Similar crescents had been placed on the Kaisar Gate, the gate of the Shaukat Mahal, the Sultani Gate, and the gates of the Sadr Manzil, Humayun Manzil, and Birjis Manzil. Screens of wire netting had been erected inside the Kotwali building and an arrangement for suspending glass tumblers with oil and wicks made in the east court of the Moti Mahal by means of pillars with square-shaped wire netting stretched between them. There were miniature gateways in this netting which were also decorated with glass lamps hooked on to wire nets. The side of the street opposite to the Moti Mahal had been similarly illuminated by means of pillars and wire. Inside the Shah Jahan Gate, as also inside the Sultani Gate, glass chandeliers had been suspended, the vestibules of the Kaisar Gate, the gate of the Shaukat Mahal and the Sultani Gate had been illuminated with hanging glass tumblers.

The southern faces of the Sadr Manzil, Humayun Manzil, and Birjis Manzil which look

on to the street were similarly lit up. The street was lined with a double row of illuminations as far as the Birjis Manzil. These illuminations were carried out like those just described which adorned the court of the Moti Mahal. The distance from the first triumphal arch up to where the illuminations ended was about a mile and-a-half. Inside the State court enclosure green flags had been hung and outside the enclosure the streets had been lined on both sides with a double row of bamboo trellis-work screens for carrying lights which extended from the Shah Jahan Gate illuminations to the Budhwara Gate of the city itself.

On Sunday, the 16th Muharram 1322 A. H., the 3rd April 1904 A. D., we left Bombay by special train. Before starting we had informed the Muin-ul-Maham and the Nasir-ul-Maham and other officers of our coming, in consequence of which complete arrangements had been made for our reception at the station, for our conveyance, salutes, etc. On the road leading east from the station at Bhopal an infantry regiment, forming the guard-of-honour, was drawn up as well as a squadron of cavalry. The road leading south from

the first triumphal arch was lined by troopers of our state cavalry; then came serried lines of infantry extending from where the cavalry stopped to the Chauni Vilayittian. One company with its officers and regimental music was drawn up on the platform at the station. The saluting battery of guns was stationed to the south of the compound enclosing the Sikandari Serai. A double row of *kanats* had been put up leading from the special waiting-room to the end of the platform. At the back of the waiting-room these *kanats* spread out so as to form an enclosure comprising the refreshment-room.

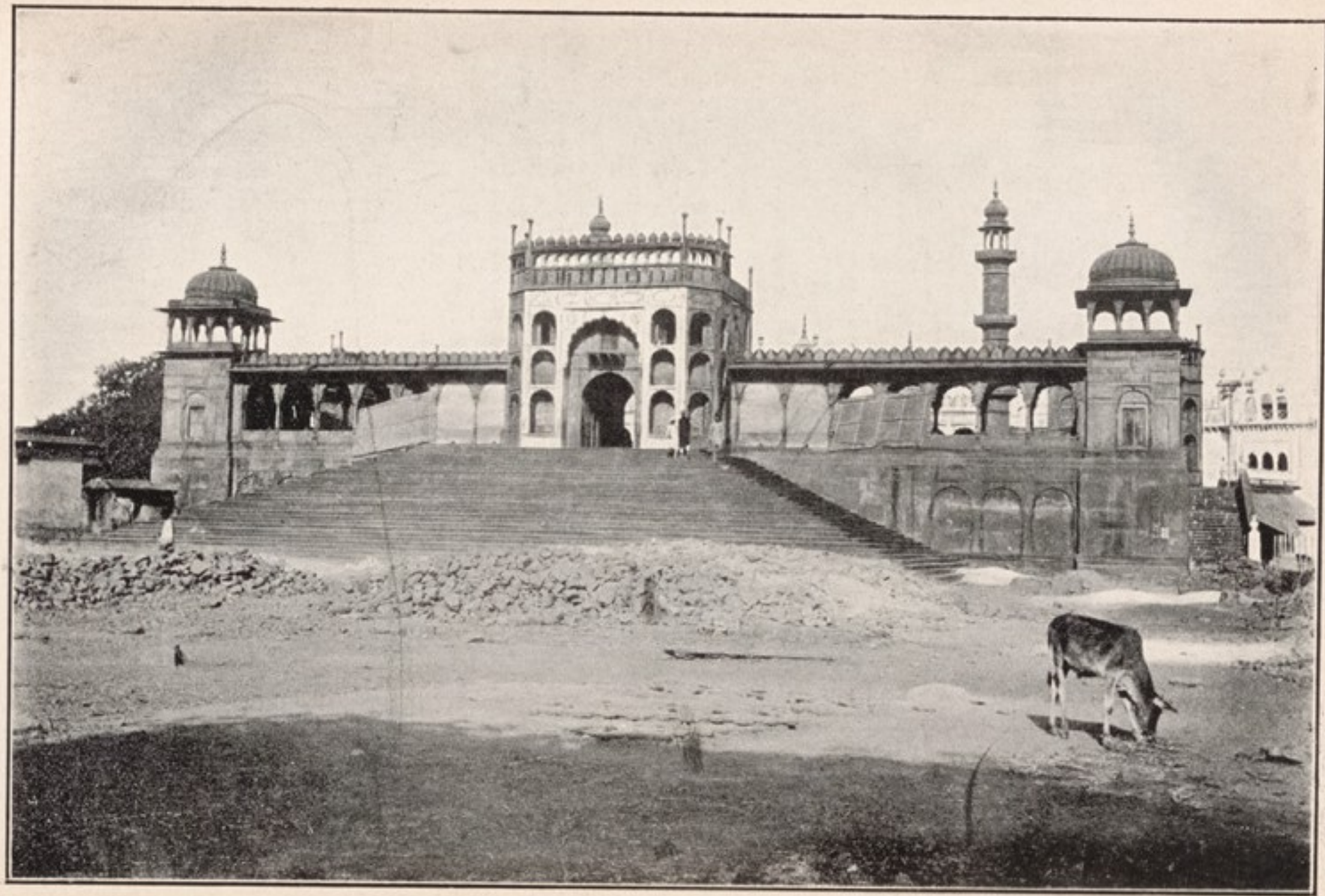
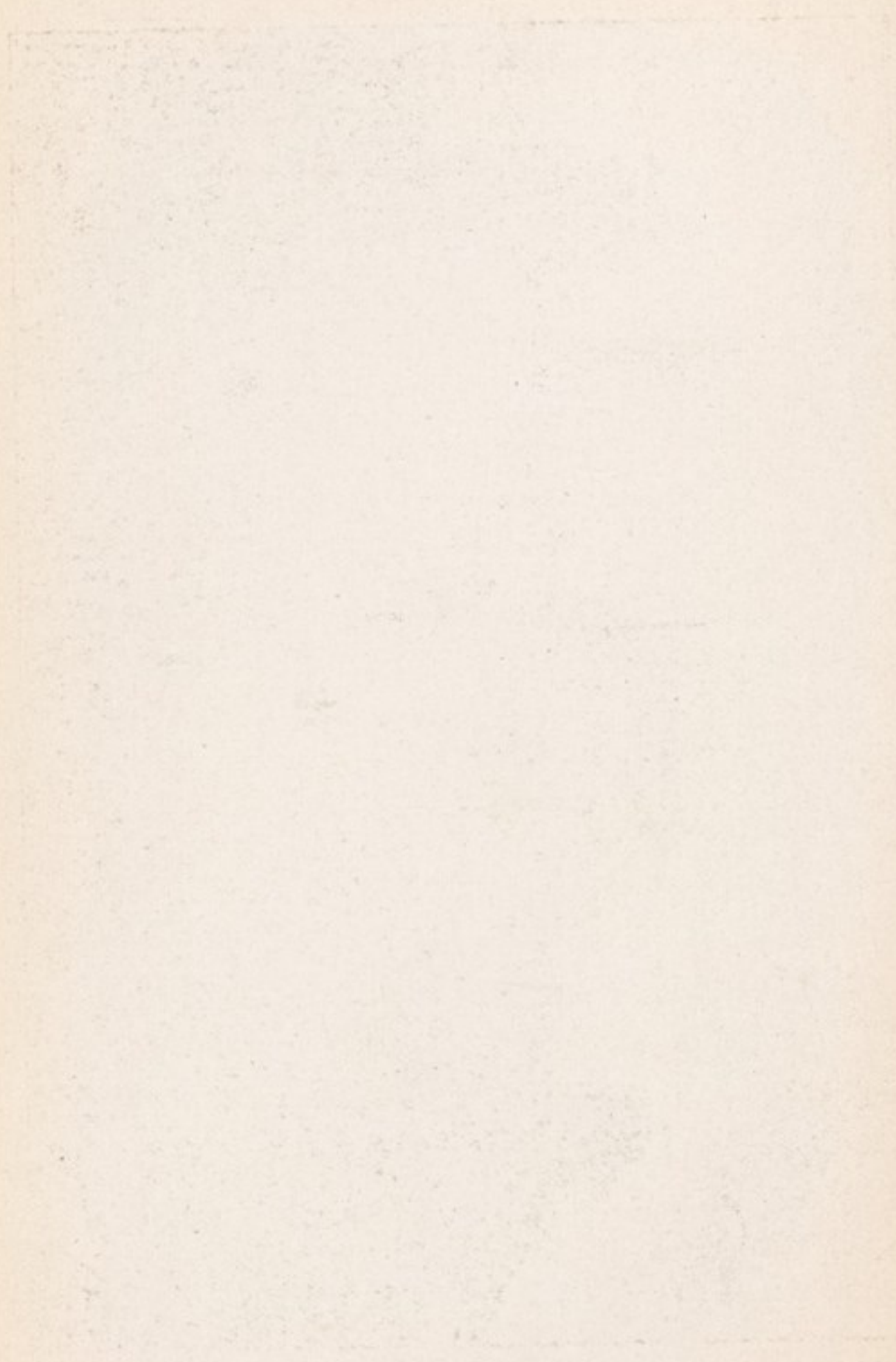
Inside the station there were assembled to receive us the Muin-ul-Maham Bahadur, the Nasir-ul-Maham Bahadur, the Acting Paymaster of the Forces, and the Officer Commanding the Victoria Lancers, together with all the higher officers of the State and blood relations of the ruling family, members of the Advisory Council and of the Municipal Board, and other prominent citizens. The railway officials had, in token of their loyalty, strung fireworks along the ıoad up to the end of the platform.

On Monday, the 17th Muharram 1322 A. H., corresponding to the 4th April 1904 A. D., at 3 o'clock in the afternoon our special train drew up at Bhopal station. We alighted in the special waiting-room in company with the Begam Shahryar Dulhan. The Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Bahadur had come back to Bombay after having safely conducted to Bhopal the party of returned pilgrims under his charge, so that we had all the three Sahibzada Sahibs with us. Sayyid Kudrat Ali representing the Revenue Department, and Munshi Israr Hasan Khan, Assistant to the Nasir-ul-Maham, who had gone to Bombay to meet us, also returned with us in the special train.

After spending a short time in the special waiting-room where we received the greetings of those who had come to meet us, we entered our carriage and drove safely to the courtyard of the Sadr Manzil with the whole of our *entourage* and retinue, receiving, on the way, the salutes of the army. When we entered the courtyard, the field artillery and the artillery in the Fort, each from their respective stations, fired the usual salute. In the evening, as had been previously arranged,

the illuminations took place. But as the sacred relics which we had brought away from the two holy places had not arrived with us, we deemed it fit that these rejoicings should be more completely organised and carried out on the day of their arrival in the city. For this reason the display of fireworks was postponed, and it was decided that on Thursday, the 27th of Muharram 1322 A. H., the Nazim of the Southern Districts and the Tahsildar of Tal, the gentlemen to whose care the relics had been committed at Barkhera station, should bring them to Bhopal by the morning mail train accompanied by the District Police Superintendent of Tal, that we should go in person as far as the masonry bridge to receive the relics, that Nawab Nasrullah Khan Bahadur and Sahibzadas Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan and Muhammad Hamidullah Khan, accompanied by the high dignitaries of the State and our blood relations, should go as far as the railway staton and bring the relics with them, attended with every mark of respect and reverence ; that for the space of one week the said relics should be placed in the Moti Masjid under the care of the Custodian of the Mosques

in order that the general public might be given the opportunity of doing themselves the honour of visiting them, and that they should finally be removed from there and deposited in the Asafi Mosque.

But for certain reasons the arrival of the relics had to be put off to a later date in order that they should not be brought into Bhopal until Friday 1st Rabi-ul-Awal. The route to be followed was likewise altered. It was now decided that the procession bearing the relics should not take the Budhwara Road over the masonry bridge, but should proceed to Shah Jahanabad from the station, past Munshi Husain Khan's Lake through the Imami Gate, past the front façade of the Sadr Manzil and through the Shah Jahan Gate to the Moti Masjid which it should enter by the northern gate. Here the *cortège* should stop and deposit its charge. Instead of going in person to meet the procession, we should station ourselves with other ladies of rank in the eastern chamber of the Sadr Manzil which faces south and overlooks the road, whence we should have the honour of seeing the relics as they were borne past. This seemed preferable to the

Moti Masjid.

original plan. The following are the orders issued in connection with the organisation of this Ceremony :—

Copies of letters to the Muin-ul-Maham Bahadur and the Nasir-ul-Maham Bahadur, and of instructions issued to Munshi Sayyid Kudrat Ali Saib, Deputy Muin-ul-Maham and Munshi Israr Hasan Khan, Deputy Nasir-ul-Maham, dated the 22nd Muharram 1322 A. H.

The sacred relics which we have brought with us from the holy cities are expected to reach Bhopal on Thursday, the 27th instant, by the morning mail train, in charge of the Nazim of the Southern Districts, the Tahsildar of Tal, and the Police Superintendent of Tal. We intend to go as far as the masonry bridge to receive them. You will therefore attend at the railway station together with all those of your subordinate officers who are now present in the capital. With the assistance of the following gentlemen, namely, the Nasir-ul-Maham Bahadur, Munshi Sayyid Kudrat Ali, Deputy Muin-ul-Maham, and Munshi Israr Hasan Khan, Deputy Nasir-ul-Maham, you will convey these holy things with utmost reverence to the Moti Masjid and entrust them to the care of the Custodian of the Mosques. They will remain on view in the Moti Masjid for one week

in order that the public of the State may also have the spiritual benefit of visiting them.

Copy of instructions to Ghulam Kadir Khan, Superintendent of Factories, dated the 22nd Muharram 1322 A. H.

The sacred relics which we have brought from the holy cities will, if God wills, reach Bhopal on Thursday, the 27th Muharram, by the morning mail train. We intend to welcome them at the masonry bridge, and an official reception is also to be accorded to them on behalf of the State. You are therefore to bring the ancient State coach,—that obtained in Madras,—from our palace to the Sultan Manzil on that day for our use. You will furthermore send three female elephants to be in attendance at the station. One of these elephants will be caparisoned with the silver *Amari* from the Toshakhana in charge of Ahmad Shah Khan and the other two will carry the silver howdahs belonging to the palaces of the Sahibzadas. The coffer containing the relics will be placed in the *amari*, while the howdahs will be occupied, one by Nawab Nasrullah Khan Bahadur and the other by Sahibzadas Haji Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Baha-

dur, when returning from the station. But if the Sahibzadas prefer to return in a carriage, the two spare elephants will take part in the procession. No *parda* enclosure of any kind will be necessary at the station, but chairs and other seats are to be properly provided as the Sahibzadas will go there. A carriage will be in attendance upon them according to custom. Chunnu Khan, Keeper of the Toshakhana, and Shaikh Muhammad will ride in the *amari* with the relics bearing peacock-feather fans in their hands. Our coachman will be ordered to station our carriage in a position on the masonry bridge which will command a good view of the procession as it marches past. The carriage will then drive along the station road through the Pir Gate to the Sadr Manzil. On the 5th of Safar the relics are to be removed from the Moti Masjid on a female elephant with full ceremonial and conveyed to the Asafi Mosque after the Friday prayer.

**Copy of instructions to Muhammad Faridullah Khan, dated 22nd Muharram 1322 A. H.**

On Thursday, the 27th of this month, the sacred relics which we have brought with us from the holy shrines are due to arrive at Bhopal station. We are going in person as far as the masonry

bridge to welcome them, while the Sahibzada Sahibs and all the noblemen and dignitaries of the State will attend at the station as well as all the troops and the *mahi maratib*, that is, the various insignia used on State occasions. You are therefore instructed to order the troops to be in attendance at the right time and place and the insignia to be in readiness. The Horse Artillery will fire eleven rounds as a salute in honour of the entry into Bhopal of the holy things and the troops together with our escort will form a procession and convey them with reverence to the Moti Masjid. A band will accompany this procession throughout. On the 5th of Safar the relics will be removed from the Moti Masjid to the Asafi Masjid after the Friday prayer. On that occasion you will provide a company of infantry and a squadron of cavalry to act as a guard-of-honour, and a second squadron as an escort; also a military brass band. This may be our private palace band. The State band will not be required.

Copy of instructions to Mian Umar Kiladar of Fatehgarh, 20th Muharram 1322 A. H.

The sacred relics, consisting of the covering or casing of the Holy Kaaba and other things

brought by us from the shrines of Mecca and Medina, will arrive in Bhopal on Thursday, the 27th instant, and will be deposited in the Moti Masjid. You are ordered to fire eleven rounds from the guns in the Fort as they are received in that Masjid.

Copy of instructions to Munshi Inayatullah, Custodian of Mosques, 22nd Muharram 1322 A. H.

On Thursday, the 27th instant, the sacred relics which we have brought from Mecca and Medina will arrive in Bhopal and the Muin-ul-Maham and the Nasir-ul-Maham, assisted by their Deputies, will convey them to the Moti Masjid and place them in your charge. You will prepare beforehand a clean and proper spot in the Mosque for the accommodation of these relics and keep them there for the space of one week, allowing the public to visit them at will. On Friday, the 5th Safar, after Divine Service, you will transfer the said relics to the Asafi Masjid where the ladies of the Palace will have the honour of seeing them.

Copy of orders endorsed on the back of a petition presented by Shaikh Muhammad Hasan.

Let the petition dated the 20th Safar 1322 A. H. together with that presented by the

Custodian of Mosques (without date) be transferred to our Record-keeper and filed in his office, and let a copy of the accompanying orders be sent to each of the undermentioned officers, namely, the Muin-ul-Maham Bahadur, the Nasir-ul-Maham Bahadur, the officiating Paymaster of the Forces, the acting Revenue Secretary, Munshi Israr Hasan Khan, the Chamberlain of our own Palace, the Kiladar of Fatehgarh, the Inspector of Factories, the Custodian of Mosques, Paymaster, Superintendent of Recovery of Arrears, the Keeper of the Toshakhana, and the Nazim of the Southern District.

The orders are: "That on the first Friday in the month of Rabi-ul-Awal the sacred relics will, God willing, be brought into this city. The arrangements will be exactly as previously arranged, but it is thought preferable that the procession should march to the Imami Gate and then past the Sadr Manzil to the Moti Masjid. *Dated the 25th Safar 1322 A. H.*"

To be brief, on the morning of Friday, the 4th of Rabi-ul-Awal, the Nazim of the Southern District, the Tahsildar of Tal, and the Police Superintendent of Kalya Kheri arrived in Bhopal

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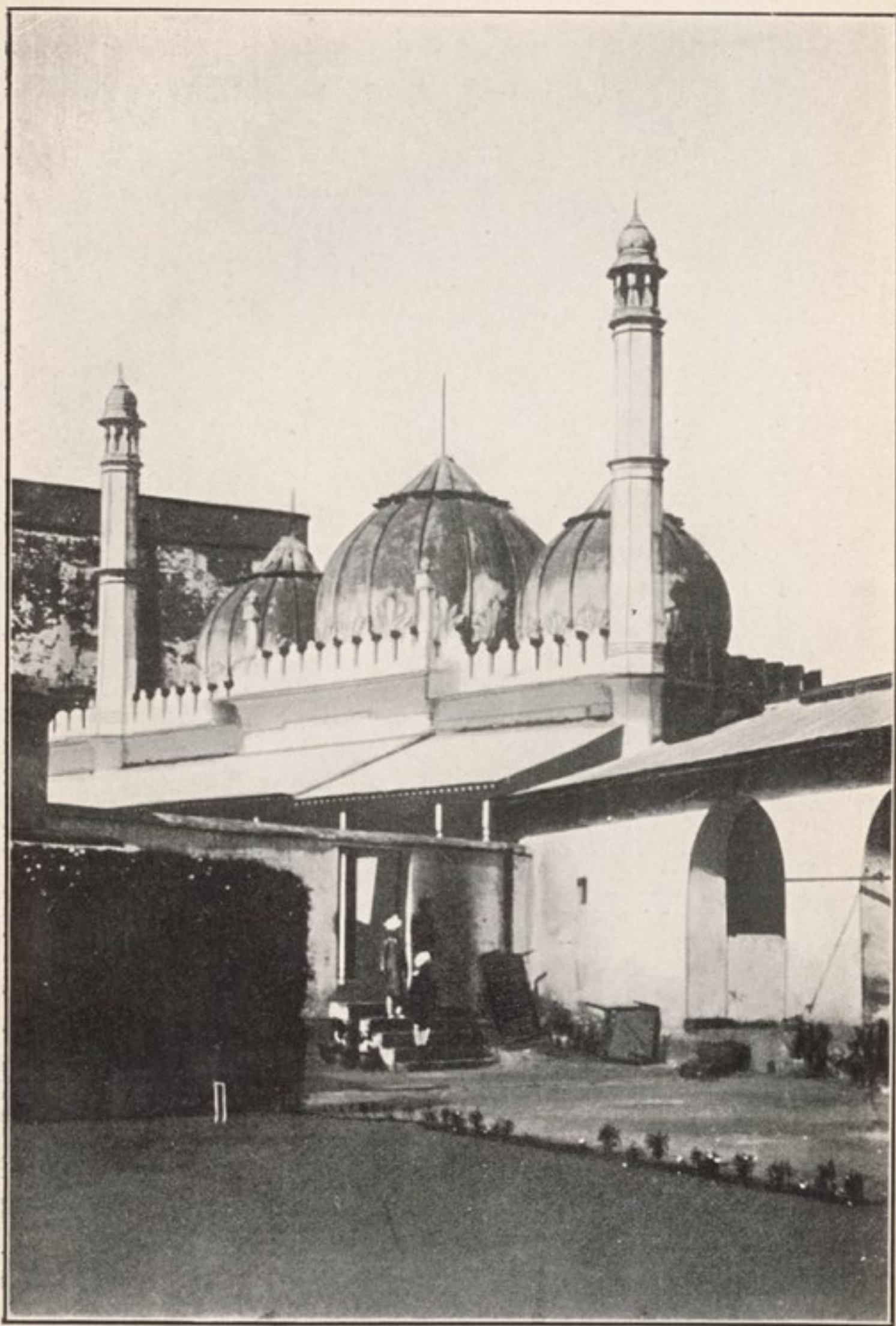
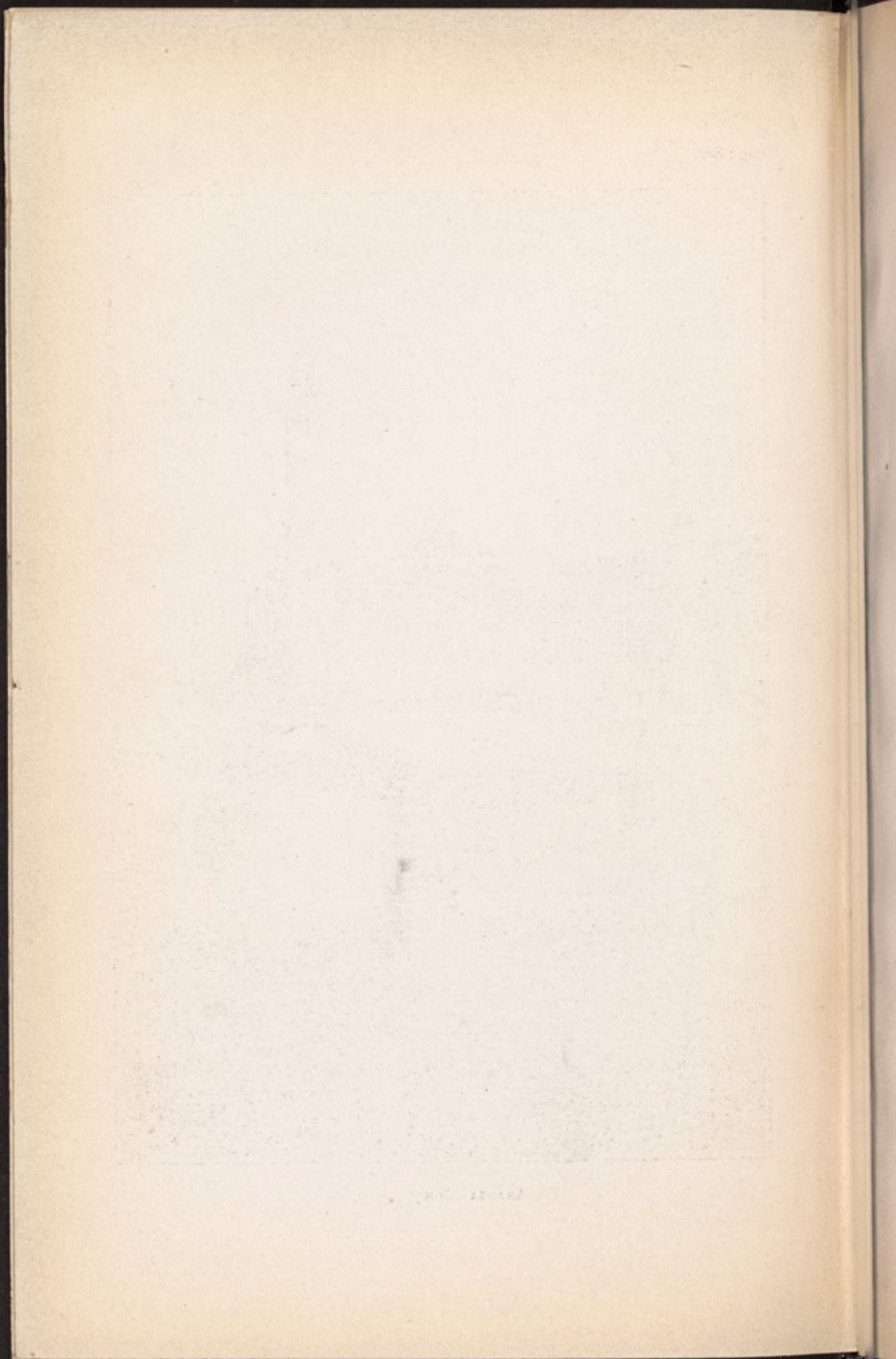

Asafia Mosque.

by the 8 o'clock train, bringing with them the relics entrusted to them. The order had been promulgated beforehand that such of the military officers and men as had performed the pilgrimage with us should take part in the reception ceremony wearing long, loose, white tunics and military *pagris* and that of the civilians those who had gone with us to Medina as well as to Mecca should wear a white dress with a green turban, while those who had not been able to visit Medina, but only Mecca, should wear white dresses with white turbans. In this distinctive costume the returned pilgrims had been ordered to take part in the ceremonial. Of the rest of the men of rank and position in the State the following joined in the reception, namely :—

*Here follows a list of names divided into three classes according to rank.*

Names of the Members of the Royal family :—

Mian Yasin Mohamad Khan
,, Akil Mohamad Khan.
,, Sadr Mohamad Khan.
,, Fazil Mohamad Khan.
,, Dost Mohamad Khan.

Mian Noor Mohamad Khan.
" Adil Mohamad Khan.
" Dil Mohamad Khan.
" Kadar Mohamad Khan.
" Shariff Mohamad Khan.
" Ashiq Hussain Khan.
" Ikbal Mohamad Khan.
" Hashmat Ali Khan.
" Saádat Mohamad Khan.
" Jalil Mohamad Khan.
" Abdul Rahman Khan.
" Velayet Ali Khan.
" Yar Mohamad Khan.
" Maksud Ali Khan.
" Mahfuz Ali Khan.
" Hayee Mohamad Khan.
" Mahmud Ali Khan.
" Enayet Ali Khan.
" Abdul Samad Khan,
alias Salar Mian.
" Rauff Mohamad Khan.
" Zaffar Mohamad Khan.
" Kamil Mohamad Khan.

Names of the officers who conducted the ceremonies:—

Moulvi Azam Hussain.
Mr. Liakat Ali.
Munshi Abdul Rahim.
Mr. Majid Hussain.
Mian Mohamad Ishaq.
Hassan Abul Jawwad of Medina.
Peer Syed Tafazzul Hussain.
Kari Mohamad Sulaiman.
Moulvi Abdul Haq Kámdár.
Munshi Enayetullah Kámdár.

Names of the State officers :—

Khan Bahadur Munshi Mumtaz Ali Khan Moin-ul-Moham, Revenue Officer.

Khan Bahadur Moulvi Mohamad Nasiruddeen Nasir-ul-Maham, Judicial Officer.

Munshi Israr Hasan Khan

Faridullah Khan, Offg. Commander-in-Chief of the State Forces.

Munshi Ahmed Hasan Khan, Mir Munshi.

Sheikh Mohamad Hasan, Superintendent, Arrears Collecting Department.

Moulvi Serajul Haq.

Munshi Mehdi Hasan, Superintendent, Pay Office.

Munshi Abdul Rauff Khan, Munshi of Peshi.

Kazi Shamsuddeen, City Magistrate.

Munshi Syed Mansab Ali, Munshi Rubkari.

Hafiz Abdul Rahman, Post Master-Genèral, State Post Offices.

Hafiz Mazhar Hussain, Sub-Judge.

M. Sakhawat Hussain, Private Secretary.

Golam Kadir Khan, Superintendent, State Stables.

Sardar Bahadur Major Karim Beg.

Munshi Enayet Hussain Khan, Offg. Assistant to the Revenue Officer.

Munshi Mohamad Sulaiman, Sessions Judge.

„ Syed Kudrat Ali, Chief Gazetteer, Bhopal.

„ Velayet Ali, Assistant Sessions Judge.

Hakim Syed Nurul Hasan, Chief Physician.

„ Mohamad Hadi, Sadar Amin.

Munshi Amjid Ali, State Account Officer.

„ Abdul Kayyum, Superintendent, State Records.

Dr. Sheikh Wali Mohamad.

Abdul Kayyum Khan, Superintendent, State Police.

Mirza Ayaz Ali Beg, Second Assistant to the Sessions Judge.

Ali Ahmed Khan, Superintendent, P.W.D.

Moulvi Mozaffar Hussain.

Munshi Jameel Ahmed.
Syed Shabir Hussain, Munsiff.
Mir Golam Kadir, Superintendent, Kotha.
Iklasud-dowla, Mir Sámán.
Jawan Bakht, Superintendent, State Toshakhana.
Mohamad Akbar, Superintendent, State Gardens.
Babu Izad Baksh, Translator.
Mohamad Arham.
Hafiz Karamatullah, Superintendent, State Press.
Syed Ali Ahmed, Munsiff.
Abu Saeed, Superintendent, Guest House.
Munshi Enayetullah, Superintendent of Mosques.
Asgaryar Khan, Record-Keeper.
Ahmedshah Khan, Superintendent, Jewelleries.
Nazim Ali, Superintendent of the Hindustani Guest Houses.
Abdul Batin, Superintendent of Ceremonies.
Abdul Karim, Jailor.

Besides those mentioned here all the other civil and military officers were present except the following gentlemen who had been ordered to attend at the Moti Masjid, namely :—

Maulvi Muhi-ud-din Khan, the State Kazi.
Maulvi Muhammad Yahya, the State Mufti.
Maulvi Sayyid Zul-fikr Ahmed, member of the Assembly of the Ulama.
Maulvi Inayatullah, member of the Assembly of the Ulama.
Maulvi Nazir-ud-din Ahmed, member of the Assembly of the Ulama.
Hafiz Abdul Aziz of the Sulaimani School.

When the train arrived, the relics, which were contained in a box encased in velvet embroi-

ELEPHANT CARRYING NILIAS.

dered with gold which again was surmounted by a similar velvet and gold covering, were taken from the railway carriage, carried outside the station and put on the elephant carrying an *amari* embroidered with gold.

The Sahibzada Hamidullah Khan Bahadur mounted the same *amari*, while Chunnu Khan, Keeper of the Palace Toshakhana, and another man sat, one on each side of him, carrying the peacock feathers of State. The elephant started followed by eight others used for pageants of this kind. Then came the Nawab Muhammad Nasrullah Khan on an elephant with a gold howdah, followed by the Sahibzada Haji Hafiz Muhammad Ubaidullah Khan on an elephant similarly caparisoned. Behind these elephants was an escort consisting of a squadron of cavalry and some squadrons of the Victoria Lancers. These were followed by a squadron of cavalry acting as a guard-of-honour and another to keep order. Batteries of artillery in attendance, followed by military music, brought up the rear. The band had companies of infantry on either side to act as an escort and to keep order.

Following this procession came the nobles and dignitaries of the State who had taken part in the ceremonial at the station. Behind these were companies of Garrison Artillery belonging to the Forts which, in turn, were followed by native music. Then followed in their order the Zafr company, the Police force, the peons of the Forts, Municipal peons, and the peons attached to the Customs Department.

The relics were carried along the route mapped out and, passing in front of our Palace, reached the Moti Masjid where they were deposited. A salute of eleven guns was fired from Fatehgarh. On the same day we distributed Rs. 2,000 to the poor as a thank-offering for our own safe return. In the evening the prominent dignitaries of the State were entertained at dinner to the number of 125. These guests were first given water from Zamzam to drink and then dates and sherbat were served to them. The band played during the function. After this 12 different dishes of food were served to the guests. This is the list of them:

Sheep roasted whole; Fowls roasted whole; Pillao; Muzaffar (sweet Pillao); Parathas (salt);

Parathas (sweet); toasted bread; Shirmal; Korma; Vegetable curry; Kababs; Firni (a sort of rice and milk pudding).

*Atr* and *pan* were distributed after dinner. Some of the dignitaries of the highest rank were given cases containing some special relics of the Holy Land. These contained dates, a rosary of beads, water from Zamzam, pieces of silk cloth and Arabic Abás and books.

On the next day public holiday was proclaimed. The relics remained for eight days in the Moti Masjid. On the ninth day they were removed to the Asafi Masjid with befitting ceremony. So long as they remained in the Moti Masjid men visited them by day and women by night. Frankincense was constantly burnt in the Masjid to sweeten the atmosphere and at night wax candles were lighted.

On the evening of the 4th Rabi-ul-Awal the undermentioned mosques were especially illuminated to celebrate the advent of the relics; in consequence of this illumination nearly the whole city was lit up with a brilliant light.

Names of the mosques illuminated:

Jamai Masjid (City).
Jamai Masjid (Jehangirabad).
Moti Masjid.
Mosque (in the Palace of Her late Highness Kudsia Begam).
Mosque (Bhopal Ry. Station).
Mosque (Police outpost Kamali).
Mohamadi Masjid.
Shamsul-Masajid.
Sulaimani Masjid.
Sultani Masjid.
Masjid Kabeet.
Mosque (of the late Umrao Doola Saheb).
Masjid Serai Jumarati.
Masjid Hayat Afza Garden.
Masjid Atoonji.
Masjid Badshah-Bahoo.
Masjid Kallo Buá.
Masjid Mankasháh.
Masjid Fatimahpura.
Masjid Bágh Mokbara.
Masjid (in the garden of the late Bilkis Jehan Begam).

The mosques belonging to the Deori Khassa also illuminated, a list of which is as follows:—

Masjid Asafi.
Zainul-Masajid.
Riazul-Masajid.
Masjid Níshát Afza Garden.
Masjid Sultani.

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JAMAI MASJID.